ANNALES DU SERVICE DES ANTIQUITÉS DE L'ÉGYPTE. — Tome LIX



RÉPUBLIQUE ARABE UNIE

MINISTÈRE DE LA CULTURE ET DE L'ORIENTATION NATIONALE

SERVICE DES ANTIQUITÉS DE L'ÉGYPTE

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Le Tome LIX est Complet

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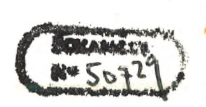
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A TRIBUTE TO A CENTENARIAN ARCHAEO-LOGIST AND FOLKLORIST

by

H. S. K. BAKRY

At the Queen Victoria Memorial Hospital, Welwyn, a cottage hospital twenty-five miles from London, is a famous archaeologist and folklorist suffering from arthritis. She is Dr Margaret Alice Murray, now in her hundredth year. (She was born July 13th, 1863.) When I visited her on the afternoon of August 4th, 1962 she was reading a novel by an open window looking out upon a gracious corn-field ; although frail with years, her spirit is indomitable and her grasp of archaeological problems, her readiness to quest in the fields of Egyptology and folklore truly amazing. (Plate I *a*).

One of her special interests is the finds of Hieracōnpolis which are now partly in the Cairo Museum and partly in the Ashmolean Museum of Oxford ; she hopes to publish them or at least to see them published in her lifetime.

The erudition displayed by Dr Murray was most inspiring. Some of the topics discussed in detail may be summed up as follows:

(*a*) The new meaning of the name Ḥatḥōr ; based on astronomical grounds it should be 'My-house-is-above' and not 'The-house-of-Horus', as it is still customarily interpreted.

(*b*) The name of Isis meaning 'The throne', and that of Osiris, her husband, signifying 'The-occupier-of-the throne'.

(*c*) The meaning of the cat-goddess 'Bast' which she is still investigating, as she is not satisfied with the hitherto accepted explanation.

In addition, she is greatly interested in the folk-lore both of England and of Egypt. In Upper Egypt, unlike many Europeans, she said, she had the golden opportunity many years ago to see the Nile-flood and enjoy its feast named 'The Nauruz'. Men and women went to the Nile to drink of its water, swim in it and bathe their children—all this in jubilation and festivity(1). She added: "As you are Egyptian and have been brought up in Egypt you should collect folk-lore material especially from women. Folk-lore reveals the soul of the people ; unfortunately it has been neglected. Englishmen do not know how to obtain its details ; an Egyptian does." She had seen women at Saḳḳâreh roll themselves on a stone with Coptic inscriptions, and in the Cairo Museum visit the mummies to induce pregnancy. Nursery rhymes she thought should be recorded and studied. She quoted the following one which a mother would tell her child reluctant to eat his egg or food, at the same time touching his fingers, one after the other.

"Here's the egg, and here's the one who boiled it, and here's the one who peeled it, and here's the one who's eaten it all up!"

This jolly formula should provide an incentive to the child's appetite.

There are folk-songs related to agriculture, sung usually at sowing time. She recited the following from Dyn. XVIII sung usually as the flood waters receded from the fields and the cattle trod the seeds into the earth to bury them in the ground. To the cattle were sung the following words :

Your shepherd is a shepherd of the West.
He will paddle in the water,
And salute the fish's daughter.
Your shepherd is a shepherd of the West.
Many happy days he'll wish
To all the little fish.
Your shepherd is a shepherd of the West.

(1) See her article *Nauruz, or Coptic New Year*, in *Ancient Egypt, F.*, 1921, pp. 79-81.

Dr Murray is a fervent lover of ancient Egyptian poetry on which she has published two books :

1. *Egyptian Poems. Rendered into English Verse from the Originals.* 1926 ;

2. *Egyptian Religious Poetry.* (Wisdom of the East) 1949. Her latest book (*The Splendour That Was Egypt. A General Survey of Egyptian Culture and Civilisation.* 1949) contains Egyptian poetry, too. Yet her most favourite poems are 'The Forsaken Lady', Amen-Rēʿ's hymns, the poem of 'Pentaur' (of Ramessēs II, 1290-1224 B.C.), and a hymn to the god Thōth written by Ḥaremḥab (1335 - 1308 ? B.C.) when he was a scribe.

After quoting admirably a few lines from each she said: "The translation of Egyptian poetry must not be too scholarly or literal, but it should give the soul of it. Fitzgerald's translation of (ʿOmar) Al - Khayyām ('s Quartets) differs from the original, but it is beautiful. Egyptian poetry has often lost much of its spirit in translation." From a poem from Dyn. XXII she quoted : " Sweet of love is the daughter of the king ! " When asked for her personal opinion of love in ancient Egypt her reply was : "True that the ancient Egyptians had a lot of love poetry, yet only little of it has come down to us, and so we can't give our opinion of it. It was not recorded, and quite likely ancient scholars did not record it because it was too light."

As to archaeology(1), she ardently recommends the study of ancient Egypt which, she declared, " has more to offer than any other country; her climate is dry, and so is her soil." Pointing towards the window, she said: "Elsewhere it is damp like here, where all organic materials disappear." Generally she proclaimed archaeology to be the most important subject in the world. "It begins with man and his development from the animal stage, and deals with his progress—it is a record of humanity—mentally

(1) Curiously enough her words on archaeology almost apply to folk-lore.

and spiritually. That is why archaeology compels attention and has made a lot of progress. Every country must remember that it is a part of this great subject, i.e. the progress of humanity." It is worth noting that she explains this thesis in her recent article(1) :

"It is losing sight of its true aim, an understanding of the human being in all his aspects, physical, mental and spiritual as manifested in the past. The details of the subject should not overwhelm the wider view, otherwise there will be no archaeologists, but a group of technicians only. This is to my mind one of the chief difficulties in the training in universities. "

And

" Archaeology is the study of humanity itself, and unless that attitude towards the subject is kept in mind archaeology will be overwhelmed by impossible theories or a welter of flint-chips. "

Finally students of archaeology should possess a good knowledge of economic geography, and should also learn to make pottery and do weaving, spinning and metal work, so that they may avoid mistakes in their studies of archaeological finds. In the above article she urges them to master a reasonable amount of the language, but not necessarily to specialise in it; they should rather rely on good philologists for the translations of long texts.

Dr Murray is very proud of her first teacher, Flinders Petrie (1853 - 1942), with whom she worked as an assistant at Abydos. Unlike other children, she did not go to school or sit for any exam before going to University College, London, in 1894 to study Egyptian archaeology. Her only exam, however,—and she takes pride in this—was for her doctorate, thereafter she was appointed lecturer in archaeology in 1899, and was assistant professor when she retired in 1935. She is now writing her memoires with which in the near future she will crown an eventful century of her life.

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(1) *First Step in Archaeology*, in *Antiquity*, XXXV, 1961, p. 121.

Of her long archaeological experience and her old age she once remarked (in 1959 to a B.B.C. announcer) :

" Well, I've been an archaeologist most of my life and now I'm a piece of archaeology myself, being 96."

Yet the longer she lives, the more—like a valuable object of archaeology—will she be appreciated and admired. She will certainly be a constant source of inspiration for the younger generation of archaeologists, for whom she has illuminated the way to explore further the splendours of Egypt.

From her small and cosy hospital room the ninety-nine years 'young' Margaret A. Murray calmly, hopefully and sincerely greets us with her unforgettable words :

" As Egypt is my first love in Archaeology I send a greeting to all those who are engaged in the study of that great and splendid ancient civilization." (Plate *b.*)

London-August, 1962

H. S. K. Bakry

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P.S.

The day before her birthday in 1963 was published her challenging autobiography "My First Hundred Years". (William Kimber).

After her death, which took place shortly after her hundredth birthday the following notices appeared in the London press :

"But her knowledge and study of witchcraft made her known to a wider public than she would ever have commanded in archæology alone." (*Daily Telegraph*).

"Of her long life she says, 'I have lived through one of the most momentous periods of that miracle of world-history, the advance of Man. I have seen the coming of the use of electricity in sound and vision, the discovery of the X-ray and the germ theory of disease, the motorisation of all vehicular traffic, the invention of the aeroplane, the discovery of atomic power... and the first sputnik that was put into orbit.

'And with the material advances have come also equally great advances in the mental and spiritual development of Man... Each step in advance which increases our knowledge of the material world must bring us a little nearer to that great Power, which science calls nature and religion calls God.' (*Daily Telegraph and Morning Post*, Friday, July 12, 1963).

NITŌCRIS THE GOD'S WIFE

On the sides of the doorway of the residence of the official architect to Karnak are inserted two sandstone slabs, or stelae[1]. One (*right*, *N.*) (Plate II *a.*) is 26. 4 inches high and 47.2 inches long ; the other (*left*, *S.*) (Plate II *b.*) is 26 inches in height and 47.3 inches long. Originally they were almost certainly in one of the chapels of the Great House of Amūn at Karnak, and they are generally attributed to the Saite Period (Dyn. XXVI) and more precisely to the time of Psammētichus I (664-610 B.C.). The inscriptions are incised and seem formerly to have been coloured, as some few faint traces of red paint are still visible on the N. stela.

In the N. stela Psammētichus I wearing the Double Crown, is accompanied by Montju the 'Lord of Wēse' (*i.e.* Thebes) and Atūm the god of Hēliopolis holding the Pharaoh by the wrist as his hand is occupied with the life-sign ☥. The two deities are leading him to Amen-Reᶜ seated on his throne, Mūt his wife standing behind him. Atum presents the king with (the sign of) life, and Montju holds a staff in the shape of the *was*-sceptre.

(1) It was the French architect and Egyptologist Georges Legrain (1865-1917) who placed them in their present position.

It is remarkable, however, that in the S. stela Nitōcris appears twice : once (*R.*), wearing a crown surmounted by two tall feathers, a headdress with an *uraeus*-serpent on the forehead, and a tight-fitting dress reaching midway between the knees and the feet, she is introduced by Montju to Amen-Rēᶜ, while the goddess Edjō wearing the crown of Lower Egypt and standing behind her endows her with life ; at another (*L.*), holding the symbol of life in her right hand and in her left a somewhat tall object (?) Nekhbe the goddess of El-Kâb, whose right hand is shown on Nitōcris' right shoulder, embraces her.

It is noteworthy that Nitōcris' title is the 'God's Wife' in the right part of the scene, i.e. in the god's presence, and the 'Divine Votress' in the left. The former title was common in Ethiopian times and the Saite Period, and was held by the Pharaoh's daughter. The princess was sent to Thebes, while her father was ruling in the Delta, for the purpose of extending his political influence over the South, especially the Thebaid. She was subject to life long chastity in order to enjoy a great political position equal to that of the Pharaoh [1].

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(1) Nitōcris was sent by her father Psammētichus I to Thebes to be 'God's Wife' of Amen-Rēᶜ in succession to Shepenwepe II, the daughter of Piᶜankhy and sister of Taharḳa (Dyn. XXV ; 689-664 B.C.). 'The vessels bearing her were very numerous ; the crews were mighty men...' When she arrived at Thebes she was cordially welcomed. 'As she advanced, she found (all) Thebes, men and women alike, standing, rejoicing at her approach... Now, afterwards when she came to the Divine Votress, Shepenwepe, she saw her, was satisfied with her, and loved her beyond everything.' To her were transferred the lands of the adoptive mother, amounting to 2000 acres in Upper and Lower Egypt, in addition to large quantities of bread, beer, wine, fowl, cattle and vegetables. 'She (*i.e.* Shepenwepe) conveyed to her the fortune which her father and her mother had conveyed to her...' *See* 'Adoption Stela of Nitocris', Legrain, *ZÄS*. XXXV 16-19=Breasted, J.H., *Ancient Records of Egypt*, Vol. IV §§ 942-58, pp. 481-88.

As Shepenwepe II received Nitōcris and adopted her at Thebes, so Nitōcris when she grew old received her successor ᶜAnkhasneferibrēᶜ, the daughter of Psammētichus II (Dyn. XXVI ; 595-589 B.C.), to be the 'God's Wife', and she became her adoptive mother. See Vikentiev, V., *Les divines adoratrices de Wadi Gasus*, figs. 1 and 2 in *Ann. Serv.* LII., 152.

The N. scene is divided in two halves by a vertical line of inscription :

←| "The leading to the temple of Amūn". In the right half is depicted

←| "the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Psammētichus. May he be given life eternally like Rēᶜ!" He is led by "Atum (the god) in Hēliopolis" ←| (*right*) and "Montju the Lord of Wēse" |→ (*left*).

Both deities wish him the same thing, thus saying the same words :

←|→ "For recitation : 'I give to thee all life and all dominion'."

In the left half of the scene is seated |→ "Amen-Rēᶜ the magnificent god, beloved of his father". Twice he wishes the king |→

Behind the god stands |→ "Mūt, the eye of Rēᶜ,[1] the mistress of the sky. May she be given all life !" Behind the goddess is a vertical line of inscription :

|→ "For recitation : 'I give to thee all life, all dominion, all health and all happiness like Rēᶜ eternally'."

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(1) *Wb.* I. 107. 9-10.

In the S. scene Nitōcris plays a prominent part. The following are the legends :

Above Amen-Rēʿ :

"For recitation : 'I give to thee (i.e. Nitōcris) all health'."

"For recitation : 'I give to thee all life and all dominion.' "

"Amen-Rēʿ the most Primordial of the Two Lands[1], whose arm is sublime, the great god, the lord of the sky."

"For recitation : 'I give to thee all life and all dominion'."

Above Montju :

"Montju, the Lord of Wēse."

"For recitation : 'I give to thee all life and all dominion'."

Above Nitōcris :

"The God's Wife, Nitōcris. May she live !"

Above Edjō :

"Edjō."

(1) *Wb.* I. 497. 2, 3.

In front of her, above :

"For recitation : 'I give to thee all life and all dominion'."

—————————, *below* :

"I give to thee all life, all dominion and all health."

Above Nekhbe :

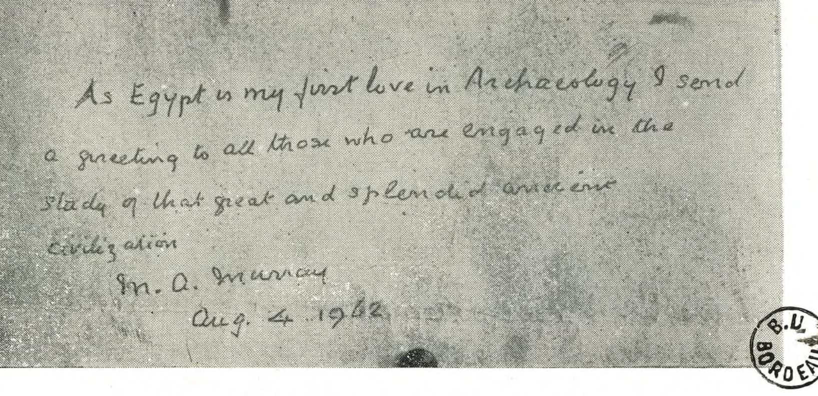
"Nekhbe."

Above Nitōcris :

"The Divine Votress, Nitōcris. May she live !"

H. S. K. Bakry

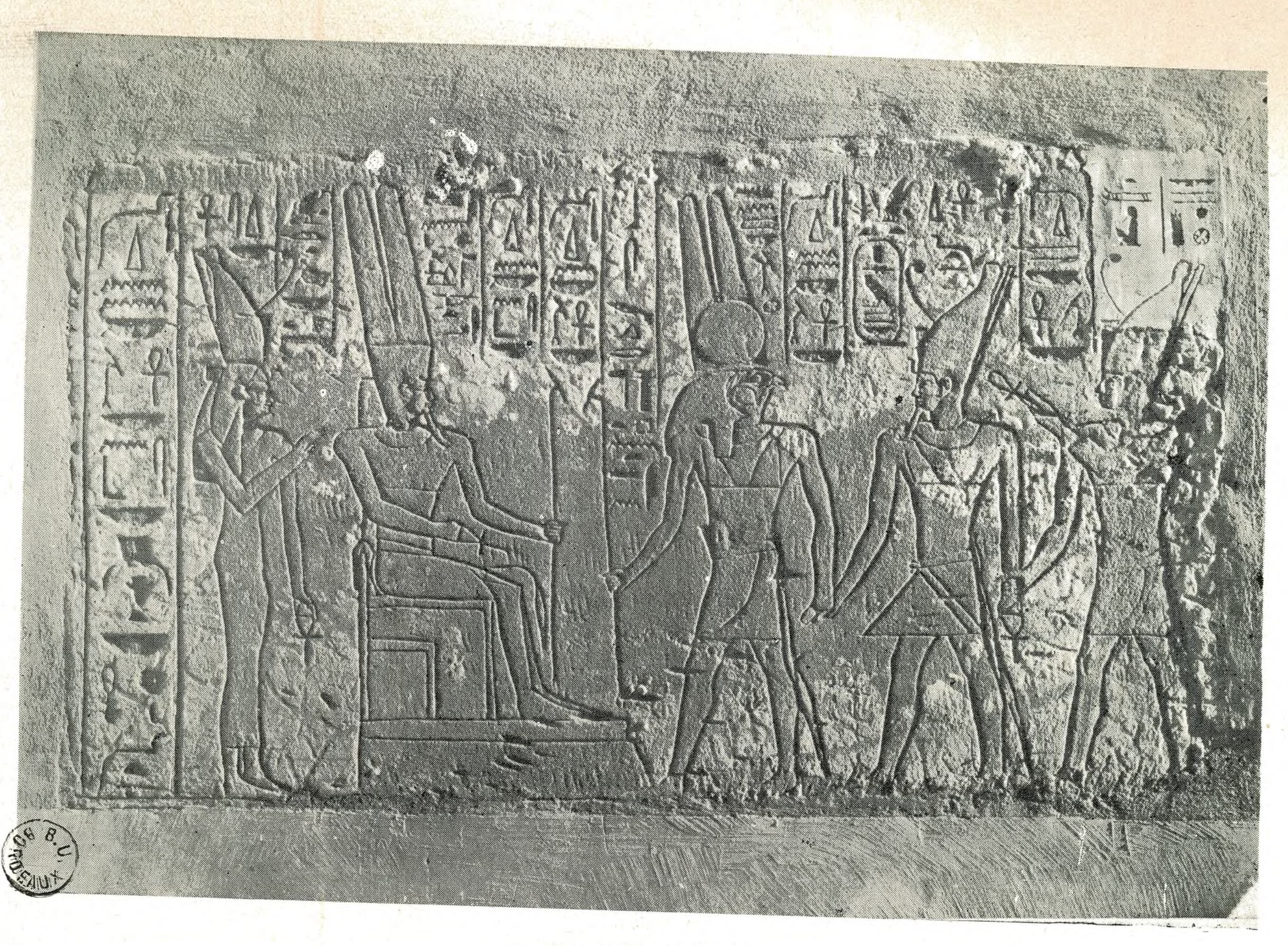
a.—A BUST OF DR MURRAY
(Photograph by courtesy of Dr Violet Macdermot, Richmond)


As Egypt is my first love in Archaeology I send a greeting to all those who are engaged in the study of that great and splendid ancient civilization

M. A. Murray

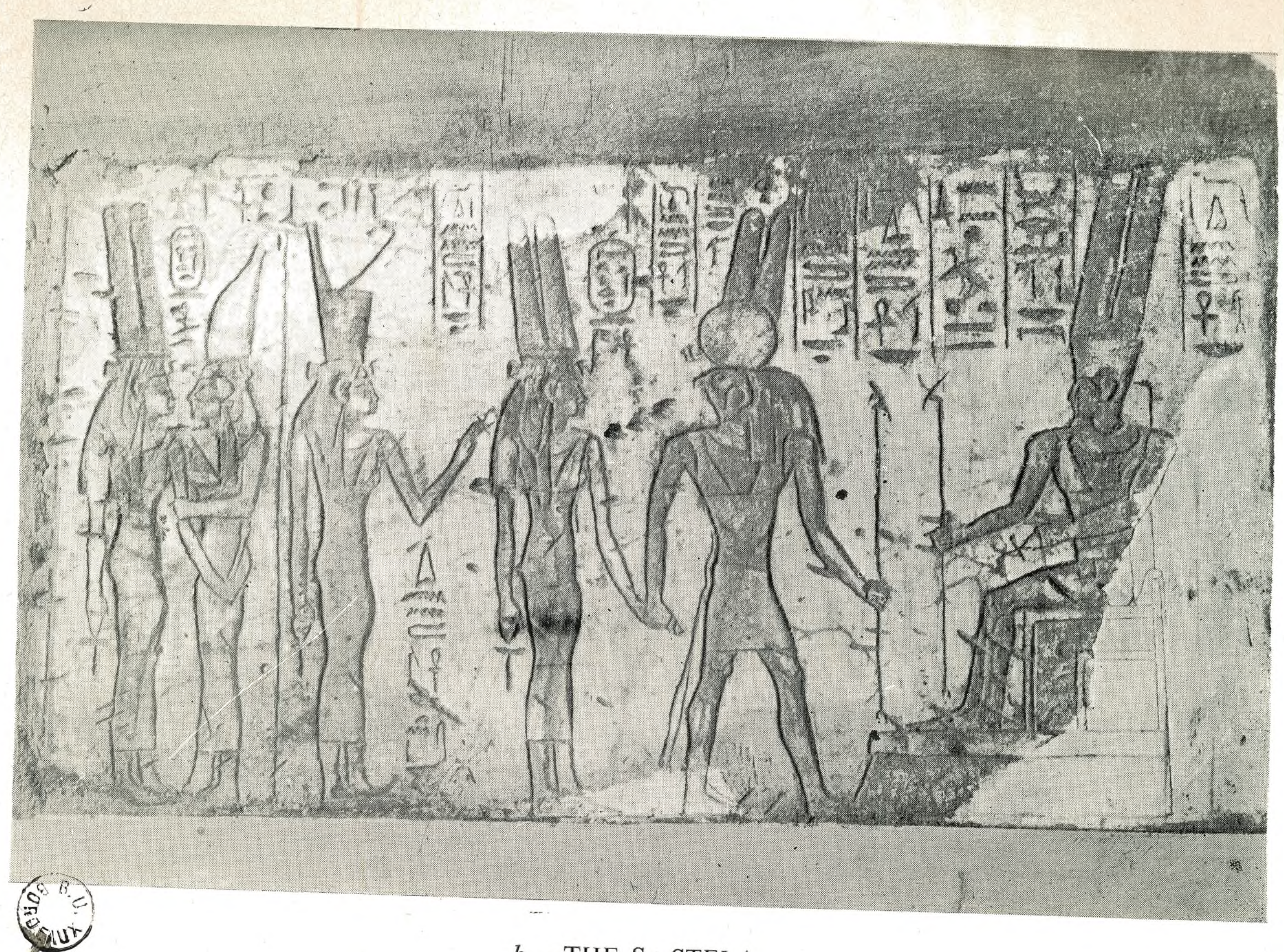
Aug. 4 1962

b.—HER MESSAGE TO ARCHAEOLOGISTS



a.—THE N. STELA

Pl. II



b.—THE S. STELA

CLEARANCE OF SOME TOMBS OF THE LATE PERIOD NEAR THE SERAPEUM AT SAQQARA

by

MOUNIR BASTA

Inspector of Saqqara

During the year 1961, a sudden depression appeared at Saqqara close to the Mariette House, not far from the serapeum and about 110 ms. to the north of Pataḥ-ḥotep's tomb (pl. n. 1). It was thus clear that some burials existed in this place, especially since some tombs had already been discovered at a spot only 60 ms. away in 1958.

The work carried out there, took three weeks as from April 17, 1962, and it ended with the discovery of seven tombs which, judging from their contents, should be dated to the Late Period. These tombs formed part of a big cemetery, which might have extended from Mereruka's tomb in the east, the group of Ptaḥ-ḥotep tombs in the south, and the Serapeum in the west. Its north end is difficult to fix, though it may have ended by the edge of the cliffs at the foot of which lies the philosophers Amphitheatre. Near the discovered tombs were found some buildings in sun-dried brick, the importance of which cannot be ascertained before they have been completely cleared.

The tombs are numbered from I to VII, according to the date of their discovery. Unfortunately all of them had been thoroughly plundered, but enough material remained in them to allow their being dated to the Late Period, perhaps to the Saitic period. The plundering of these tombs took place possibly in the Graeco-Roman or Coptic period, since some lamps of these periods were picked up in some of the burial chambers.

Below is a brief description of these tombs and the objects found inside :

Tomb No. I

This is formed of a shaft, 1.15 by 1.35 ms. and 8 ms. deep. The top part of it is built of rough limestone to a depth of two metres; the rest is cut in the rock.

The shaft ends in two burial chambers on the east and the west sides of it.

Eastern burial chamber :-

This is 2.65 ms. by 1.80 ms. and 1.45 high. Scattered fragments of coloured coffins and mummies were found mixed with the sand. Two coffin-faces of mud were found. One measures 35 by 35 cms. coloured in red, the eyes being in white and black. The other, which measures 37,5 by 37 cms. has the same colouring (pl. No. 2) A pottery lamp of green polished pottery, measuring 88.5 by 4 cms. was found in the débris; it can be dated to the Graeco-Roman or Coptic period, when it was used while the tomb was being plundered (pl. No. 3) It is worth mentioning here that this burial chamber leads to another which gives access to many other burial chambers full of broken wooden coffins.

Western burial chamber :-

This is 2.42 by 1.52 ms. and 90 cms. high. It was similar to the eastern room, as fragments of coloured coffins and mummies were found there mixed with sand. Among these fragments two mud coffin-faces were picked up. One measures 26 by 18 cms. coloured red, black and white, the other measuring 27.5 by 20.5 cms; coloured like the first.

Tomb No. II

Two metres north of tomb No. I ; No. II was discovered. It is I by 1.15 ms. and 18 metres deep. It ends in five burial chambers opening on a principal rectangular hall measuring 2.45 by 2.37 ms. and 1.90 ms. high.

Two burial chambers lie on the west, two on the east and one on the south. All the chambers were nearly empty, except that in the south where some green faience shawabti figures were found (Pl. No. 4). Some of these shawabtis bear the following inscription :

(Photo No. 5)

"The honoured Osiris Hapimen, born (*to*) Paiem" The owner of the shawabti is called Hapimen, meaning "May Apis be firm" (Ranke) *Personennamen* 237 : 13), while that of the father is Paiem meaning. "The one belonging to the sea" (ibid ; 100 : 15). It is strange that this latter name is introduced with the word "ms", usually introducing the name of the mother, but in a few cases it precedes that of the father, as in this case (Pl. No. 5).

Burial chambers between tombs I and II.

During the clearing of tombs Nos. I and II to a depth of about three metres from the top of pits Nos. I and II an entrance to a rectangular hall was found which has a recess on each side.

Northern recess :

This contains broken mummies, cartonnage and wrapped mummy.

Southern recess :

This contains fragments of coloured wooden coffins and mummies.

Eeastern recess :

This contains an anthropoied limestone sarcophagus measuring 1.77 ms. by 69 cms. high. The lid had been displaced in the past and therefore nothing was found in it (Pl. No. 6). On one of the shorter sides it bears one cursive line in black ink (Pl. No. 7). This inscription seems to mention the title and the name of the owner, in which the words Ḥapi, Osiris, Ntr, occur.

Western recess :

This contained nothing except fragments of mummies.

In the principal recess an Osirian wooden statue was found, beautifully coloured in red and black (Pl. No. 8, 9.). On the front it bears the following inscriptions : a vertical line of inscription in the middle (*a*), while on the spectator's right is a second one with a baboon-headed and a human-headed deity (*b*) on the left is a third line with a hawk-headed and a jackal-headed god. (*c*)

The inscription in the middle (*a*) reads as following :

"May the king give offerings to Osiris, foremost of Westerners, the great god lord of the Necropolis".

The inscription on the right (*b*) reads : "Utterance of Ḥapi (*and*) Qebḥ (senwf). On the left (*c*) : Utterance of Amesti (*and*) Duamutef. The inscription on the back, which is a continuation of the line in the middle of the front (*a*) reads :

That he may give an invocation ...... (to the ka) of Ḥapi son of Pa-ḫry, born of (mn) the deceased."

A papyrus coffin of loose reeds was also found in this place. A Graeco-Roman pottery-lamp of green glazed ware was Picked up in this rectangular hall, measuring 4.5. by 8.5. cms.



Tomb No. III

This is two metres to the west of shaft-tomb No. 11. It was put off to next season as there is a pit nearby to be cleared first.

Tomb No. IV

This was discovered four metres to the north of shaft-tomb No. 111. Slabs of limestone covered the shaft. Raising them, it appeared that the shaft was not full of sand to the top as were others beside it. The clearance of the shaft was stopped until next season.

Tomb No. V

This is four metres to the west of the fourth tomb. Slabs of limestone on the shaft were in situ. Removing the sand all around, some mud-brick buildings were revealed, and I found it preferable to clean round the shaft not the shaft itself.

These mud-brick buildings will be described later.

Tomb No. VI

This is two metres to the north of tomb No. 11. The upper part is built of limestone, but the rest of the shaft is cut in the rock. Its depth is 9.5. ms. and the shaft end in six burial chambers :

Northern chamber :

It was found empty except from some fragments of wooden coffins and mummies. Its length and breadth are 2.30 by 1.40 ms. and it is 85 cms. high.

Southern chambers :

These are four, containing fragments of broken coloured wooden coffins, except for a coloured wooden coffin found in the hall between these four rooms (Pl. No. 10, 11). On one side of this wooden coffin the following inscriptions can be read :—

May the king be kind and may he give an invocation (lit : going forth of the voice) consisting of bread, beer, meat, birds, incense, clothes and every pure and good thing to the honoured Osiris Pri-nfr born of (son of) Tadi Osir. The name Pri-nfr means "The beautiful one comes forth" (Ranke, Personennamen P133; 27"

Tomb No. VII

This lies two metres to the east of tomb No V. It has been left to the next season.

Mud-brick Buildings.

North of the shaft-tomb No. VII, the lower parts of a mud-brick wall was found. It is 5. 45 by 135 ms. and 15 cms. thick. Nearly in the middle of this wall there is the lower part of a limestone false door, on which damaged inscriptions are now illegible. It seems that this wall was a part of the chapel of tomb no VII (Pl. N. 12).

The excavations threw light on some rooms built of mud brick connected to each other by small and narrow openings (Pl. No. 13,) It is preferable to describe them separately :—

Room No 1 :—

It is 2.80 by 2.10. and 75 cms. high. Its opening is 52 cms. wide, with a limestone threshold. Two mummies were found buried in its floor with some pottery.

Room No. II :—

West of room No. I and adjoining it, it measures 3.60 ms. by 1.50 ms. and 105 cms. high. No burials were found.

Room No III :—

West of room No. II and also adjoining it, it measures 2.80 by ms. and 1.05 ms. high. the opening is 76 cms. wide. This room has a limestone floor.

Room No IV :—

North of room No. III, it is 3.60 by 3.20 ms. and 1.10 ms. high. Its opening is 50 cms. wide. In the middle of this room the upper part of a shaft built of limestone was found.

Room No. V :—

East of room No IV, and north of room No. 1, it measures 2.80 by 1.50 and 95 cms. high. Pottery was found in it.

The reason why these rooms were built is not definitely known, future excavations may throw more light on this. However, I think that they were poor chapels, for the tomb -shaft found in the middle of room No IV, because, they are built nearly around this shaft and are connected to each other by means of openings which allow a person to pass through.

Remains of mud-plaster were found on the walls without any trace of scenes, drawings, inscriptions or colour. This fact shows that these chapels were very poor and can be dated to the Late Period. According to a study of all similar mudbrick buildings either in the Saqqara cemetery or in tombs at Memphis, we can ascertain that these chapels had vaulted ceilings although no part of them was found. Later on these rooms were-used as burial chambers, some mummies being buried in the débris and on its floors.

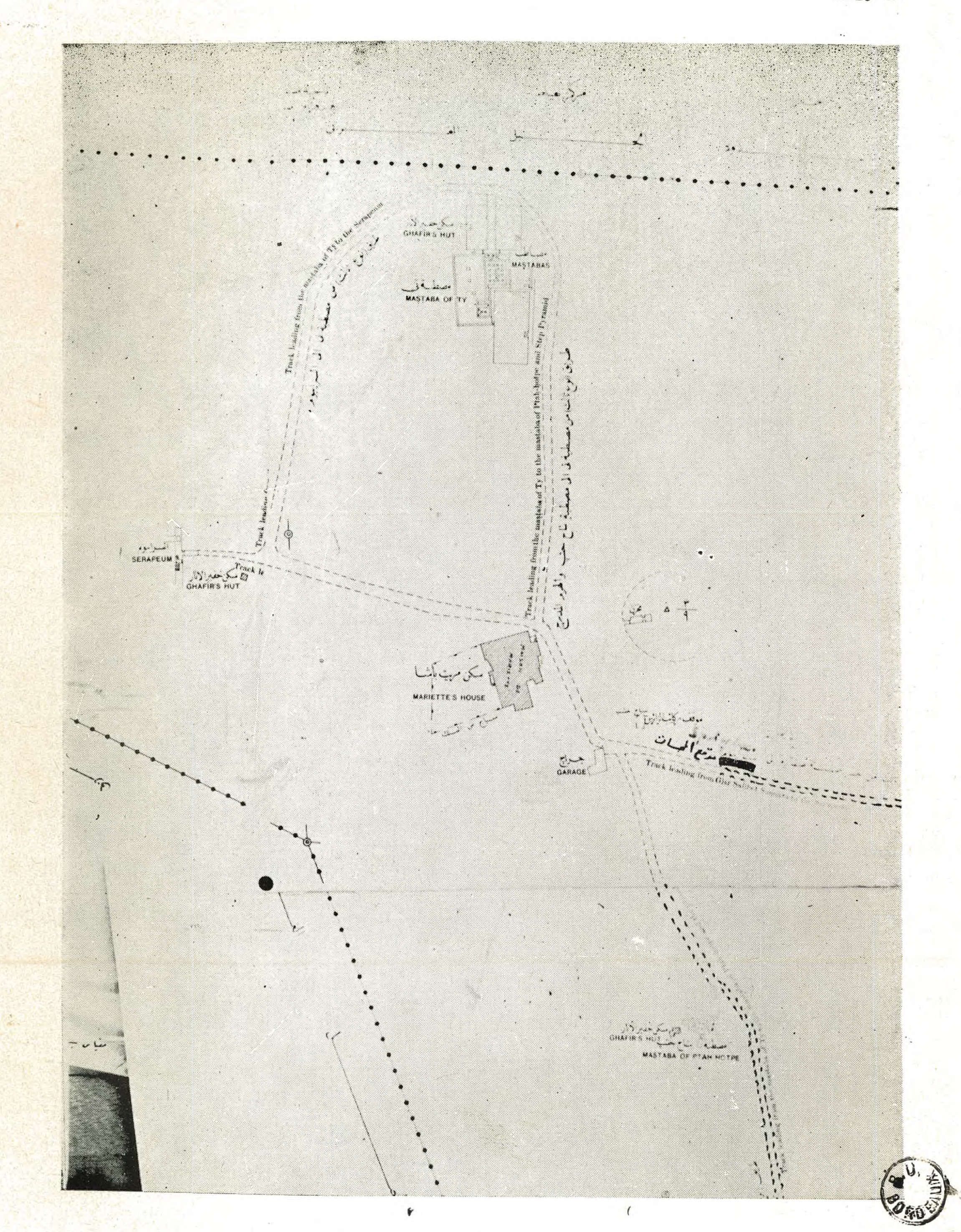
Among the débris of these rooms many faience amulets representing different divinities were found, besides a copper amulet of the god Min and another of the god Anubis.

List of some small objects.

1. Pottery of different shapes from the Late-Period.
2. Three pottery lamps, two of green glazed pottery, the third of red pottery.
3. Five coffin faces of coloured mud.
4. Three coloured wooden coffin faces
5. Two coffin eye-inlaid made of copper and marble.
6. Nine faience amulets in the shape of wdat-eye.
7. Nine faience amulets in the shape of Tauris.
8. Six faience amulets in the shape of Ḥeḥ.
9. Nine faience amulets in the shape of wȝḏ Column.
10. Six faience amulets in the shape of Ptaḥ-Patichus
11. Six faience amulets in the shape of Anubis.
12. Four faience amulets in the shape of Thot.
13. One amulet of faience in the shape of Khnum.
14. One amulet of faience in the shape of Nefertum.
15. One copper amulet in the shape of god Min.
16. One copper amulet in the shape of Anubis.

(Pls No. 14, 15).

Mounir Basta

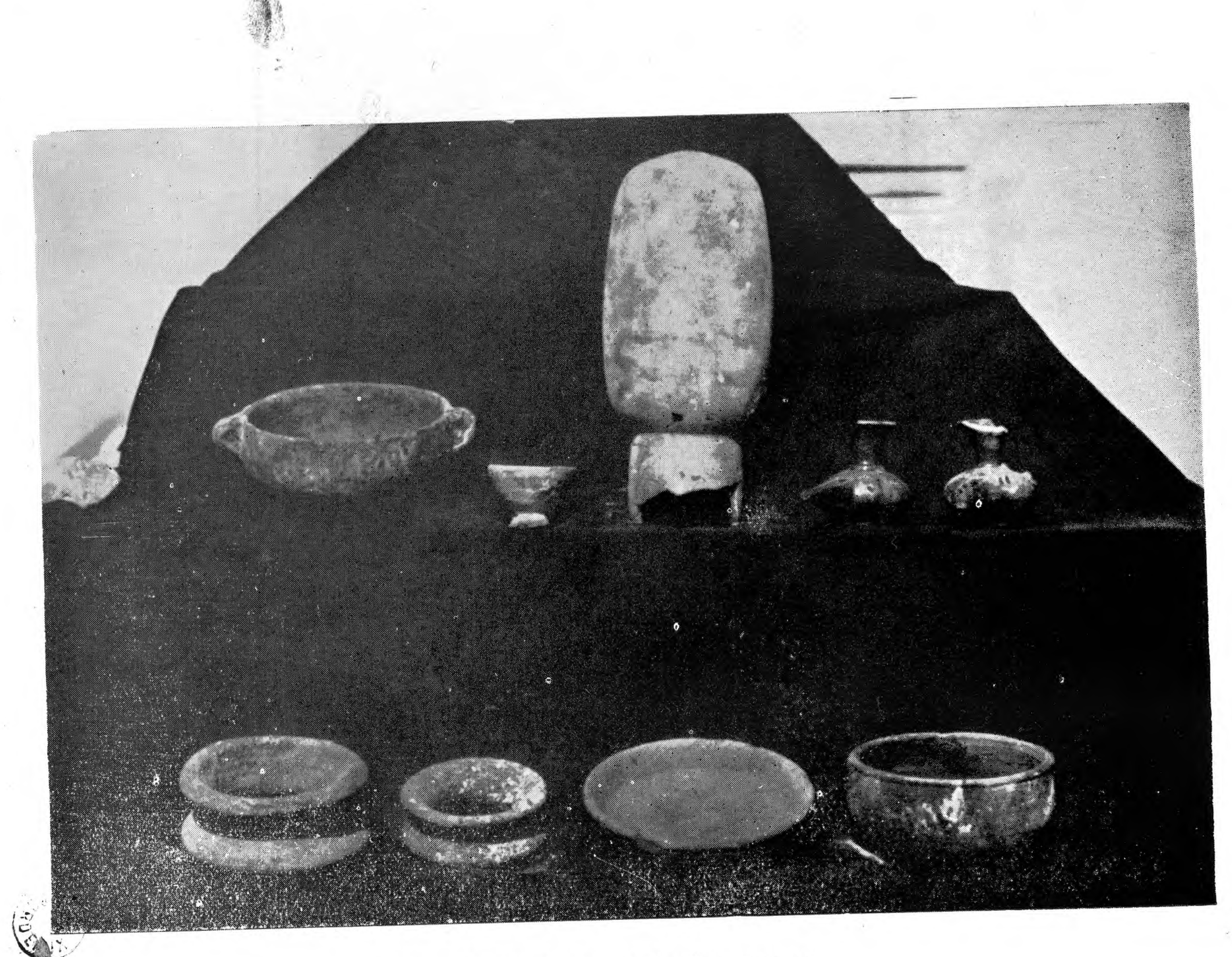


The Spot of Excavation



Two mud coffin faces from tomb No. I

PL. II



Two Pottery lamps and other pottery

Pl. III



The southern chamber with shawabti figures and the western room of tomb No. II

Pl. V

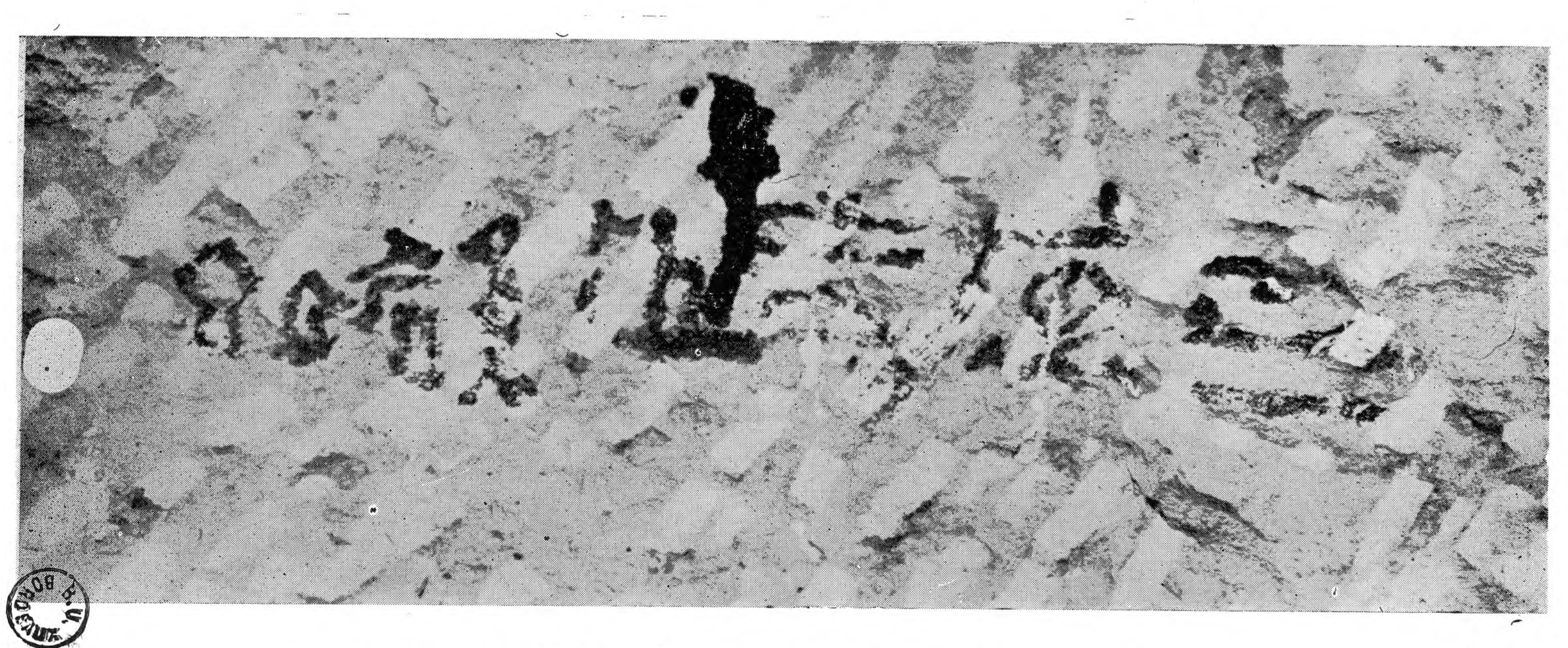


One of the shawabti of Paiem



The anthropoied limestone sarcophagus

Pl. VI



The cursive inscription on the shorter side of the limestone sarcophagus

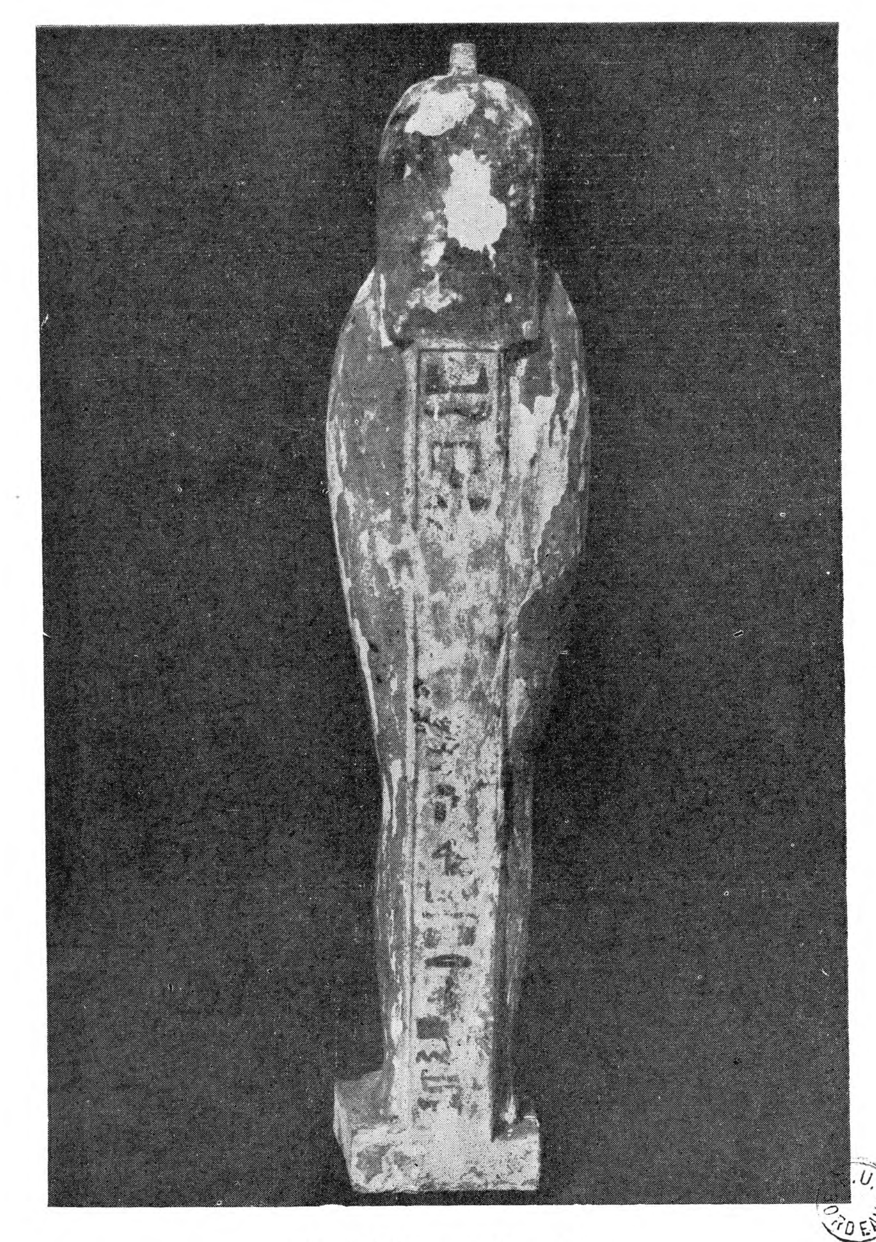
Pl. VII

Pl. VIII



The Osirian wooden statue

Pl. IX



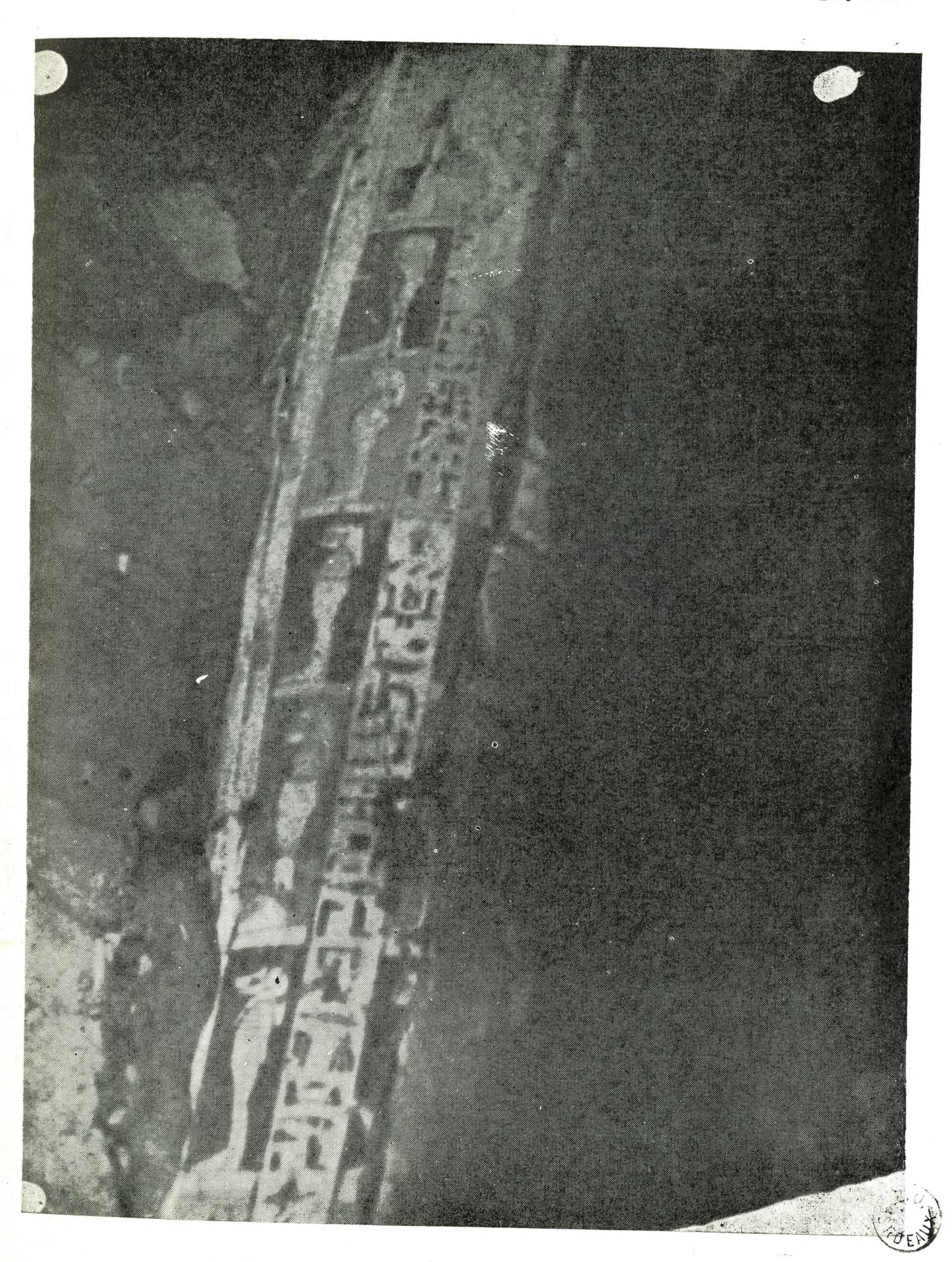
The Osirian wooden statue



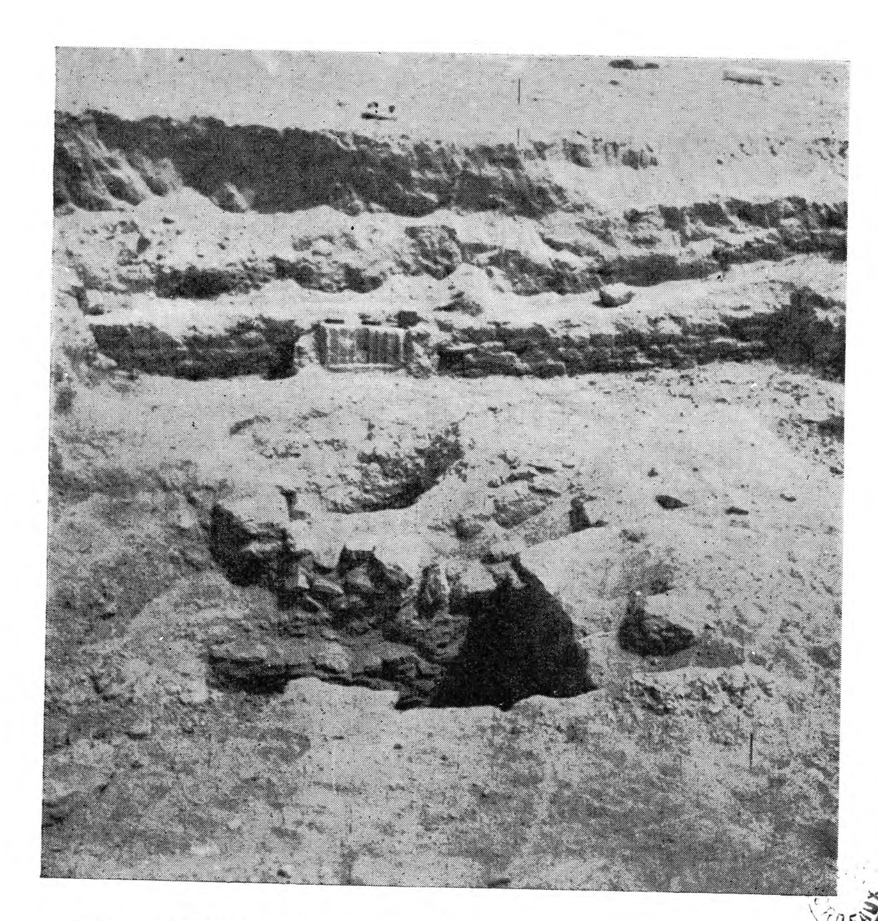
Broken coffins in Tomb No. VI

Pl. X

Pl. XI



Inscriptions on the wooden coffin Tomb No. VI

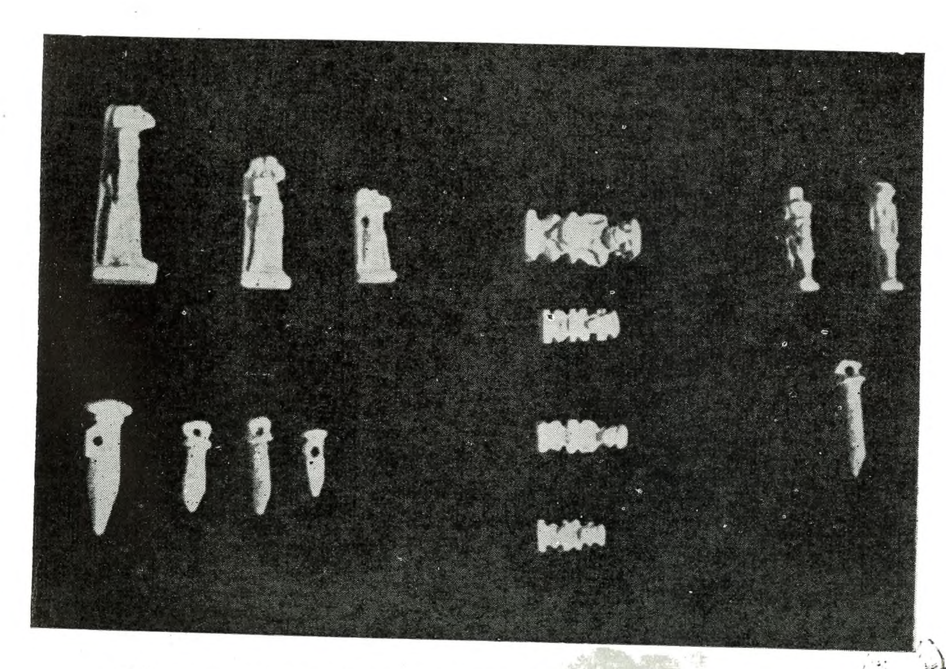


The mud-brick wall with the lower part of the false door

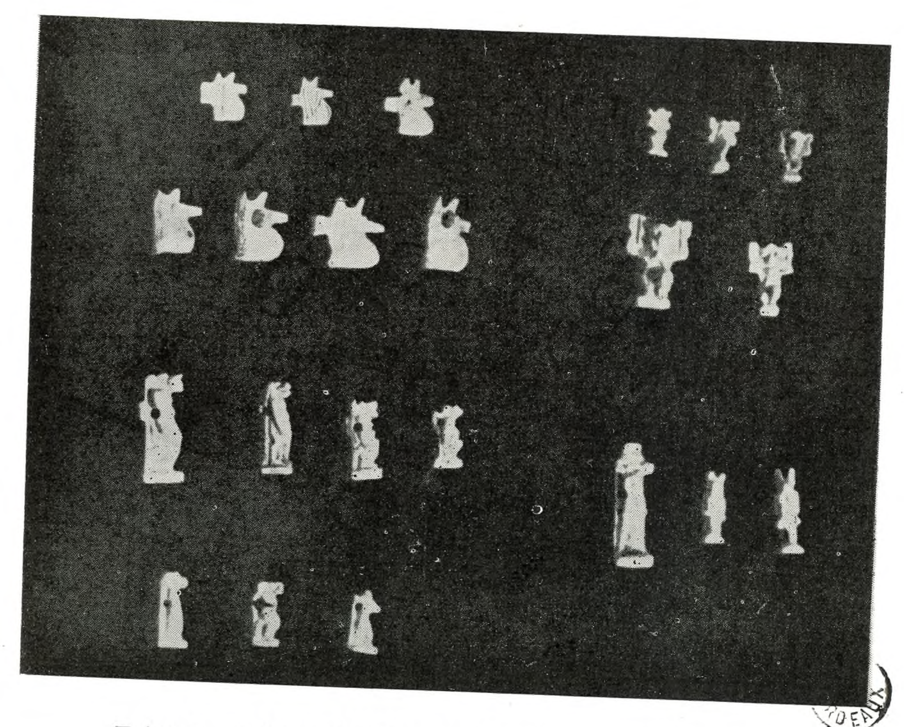
Pl. XIII



IInd, IIIrd and fifth mud-brick rooms



Faience amulets of *Wḏ3t*-column, Thot and Ptaḥ-Patichus



Faience amulets of *Wḏꜣt*-eye, Tauris Ḥeḥ and Anubis

RAPPORT SOMMAIRE SUR LES FOUILLES DU SERVICE DES ANTIQUITÉS À MIT-YA'ISH

par

SHAFIK FARID

Le Service des Antiquités a entrepris des fouilles dans la zone du souk de Mit-Ya'ish, Markaz Mit-Ghamr (Daqahlieh), sous ma direction avec la collaboration de mon collègue Shehata Adam pendant la période du 3/12/1953 au 21/1/1954 et du 6/6/1955 au 28/6/1955 [1]

Le souk de Mit-Ya'ish occupe un terrain antique d'une superficie de sept feddans environ ; la plus grande partie a été déjà fouillée sur une superficie de 4 feddans et demi, dont la majeure partie se trouve au niveau des terrains agricoles avoisinants.

Le travail était assez dur à cause de la présence des eaux d'infiltration prés de la surface du sol et en raison de son bas niveau et du voisinage des terrains agricoles. Ce qui a contribué à la difficulté des fouilles, c'est la présence de nombreux *shakfs* mélangés au limon.

Le résultat de ces fouilles a été la mise au jour d'une grande partie d'une ville qui était très florissante à l'époque grecque ; puis elle périclita, et il n'en reste aujourd'hui que quelques vestiges dans la zone du souk, qui consistent en des maison construites en briques crues et composées de chambres, de salles, d'entrepôts ; il ne subsiste de celles-ci la plupart du temps que les fondations (Pl. I) ; vu l'état de ruine des constructions nous n'avons trouvé que peu de vestiges des portes, mais dans un seul cas nous avons trouvé le pivot d'une porte en pierre calcaire dans son emplacement original.

(1) Pour le travail précédent dans ce site, voir SHEHATA ADAM, *Recent Discoveries in the Eastern Delta*, *Ann. Serv.*, LV, fasc. 2, p. 301 ff.

Les maisons sont traversées par des rues de largeurs différentes (Pl. II), et entre elles se trouvent des séparations étroites ; le sol de ces maisons n'est pas partout au même niveau ; à certains endroits il est recouvert de briques crues et quelques salles sont recouvertes de dalles en pierre calcaire (Pl. III).

Dans la partie médiane de la zone des fouilles on a découvert une partie du dallage d'un bain en mortier posé sur une surface en briques rouges.

Les maisons contiennent en général des jarres en poterie fixées dans le sol des chambres ; elles affectent des volumes et des formes differents et servaient, soit à conserver les céréales ou l'eau. Notre attention a été retenue par une grande jarre ayant 4 anses et percée sur toute sa surface (Pl. IV) ; on a découvert aussi des fours circulaires en brique rouge pour préparer les aliments (Pl. V).

Dans la partie sud de la zone des fouilles on a découvert des fours de forme circulaire dont quelques-uns sont à l'intérieur des maisons pour la fabrication du pain et d'autres forment un ensemble pour la cuisson des poteries (Pl.VI) ;ces fours sont fabriqués en poterie ou en briques crues transformées en briques rouges par la cuisson. Le diamètre de ces fours va d'un à deux mètres.

Au cours des fouilles à l'intérieur et à l'extérieur des dites maisons nous avons découvert differents objets de l'époque grecque, dont quelques monnaies en bronze et en argent portant les noms et portraits d'Alexandre le Grand, Ptolémée I, Ptolémée II, Ptolémée III et la reine Bérénice II, épouse de Ptolémée III (Pls.VII, VIII), ainsi que des statuettes en pierre calcaire, en terre cuite (Pl.IX), en bronze, des lampes en terre cuite, des jouets en poterie, en pierre calcaire et des plaques en terre cuite portant des dessins en relief, des anses d'amphores en terre cuite portant la marque de l'usine, des vases en schiste, en albâtre, et en terre cuite (Pl. X), des grands mortiers en pierre calcaire, en granit, des ustensiles de ménage en bronze, des tables d'offrandes, des chevets en pierre calcaire.

En dehors des objets ci-dessus, on a trouvé dans les fouilles quelques scarabées en faience qui remontent au Nouvel Empire ; on suppose qu'ils ont été transportés de leur emplacement original à leur emplacement actuel.

Après que ces maison fussent tombées en ruine, leurs occupants les abandonnèrent et la zone servit comme cimetière ; en effet dans la partie sud du souk on a mis au jour un groupe de sépultures dont quelques-unes appartenaient à des adultes et d'autres à des enfants ; les cadavres étaient inhumés n'importe comment sans tenir compte de la direction de la tête ; les tombeaux en général sont très pauvres et ne contiennent rien de précieux ; les corps sont dans un état de décomposition très avancée sous l'effet de l'humidité ; quelques cadavres ont été trouvés éparpillés sur la surface du cimetière sans sarcophage ou tombeau et d'autres ont été trouvés dans des sarcophages ovales en terre cuite ou contenus dans deux vases cylindriques en terre cuite d'une longeur de 90 cm. dont l'ouverture de l'une fait face à l'ouverture de l'autre (Pl. XI). Dans certains cas les cadavres sont posés dans des tombes oblongues construites en briques rouges. Quelques cadavres ont été trouvés sur le sol des chambres entourés de briques crues (Pl. XII), de même que des cadavres ont été trouvés à l'intérieur des murs des maisons, ce qui confirme la théorie de ce qui s'est produit après que la ville fut tombée en ruine.

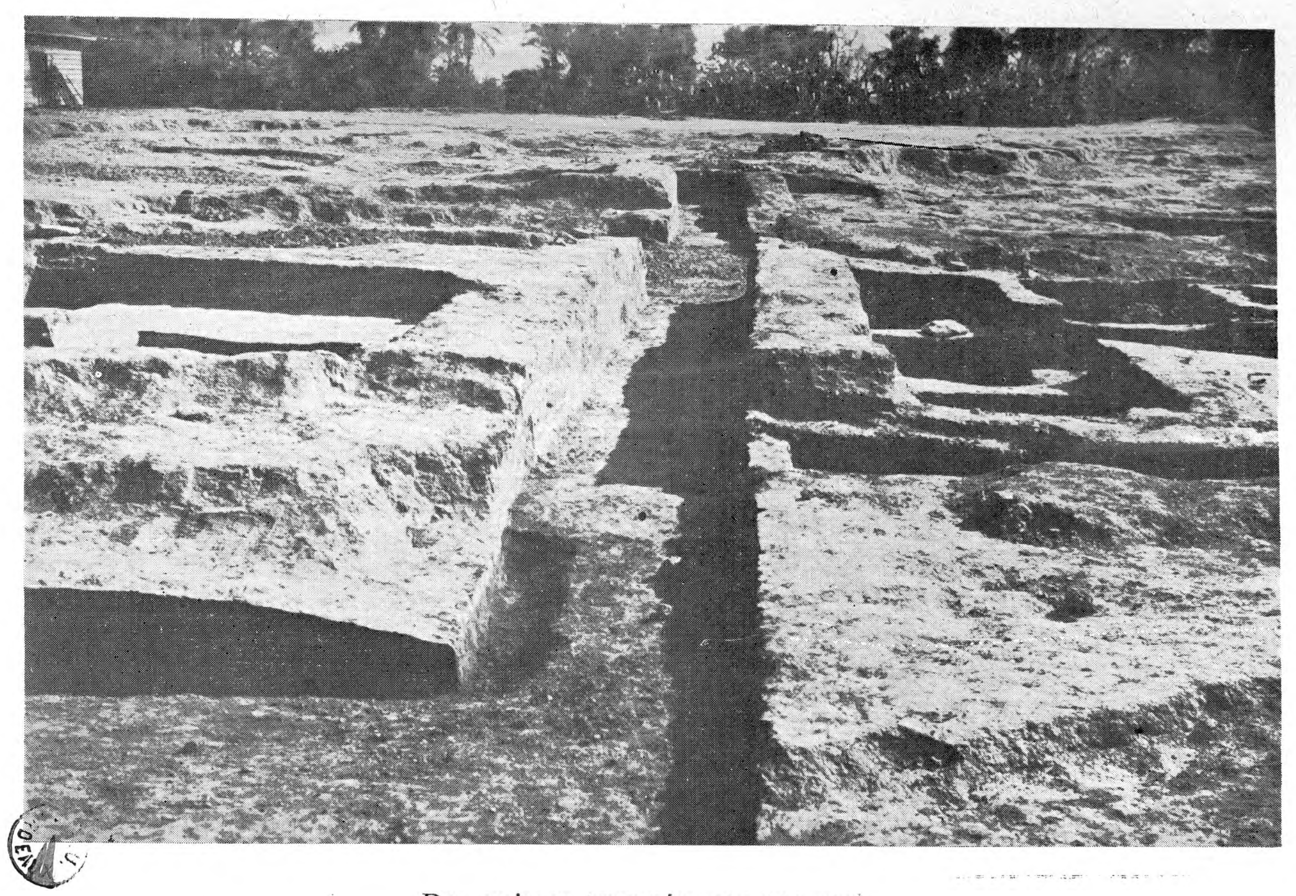
Quant aux cadavres des enfants, ils ont été découverts à l'intérieur de vases en terre cuite que les habitants employaient pour conserver ce dont ils avaient besoin.

Shafik Farid



Vue générale des vestiges des maisons

Pl. I



Des maisons traversées par une rue

Pl. II



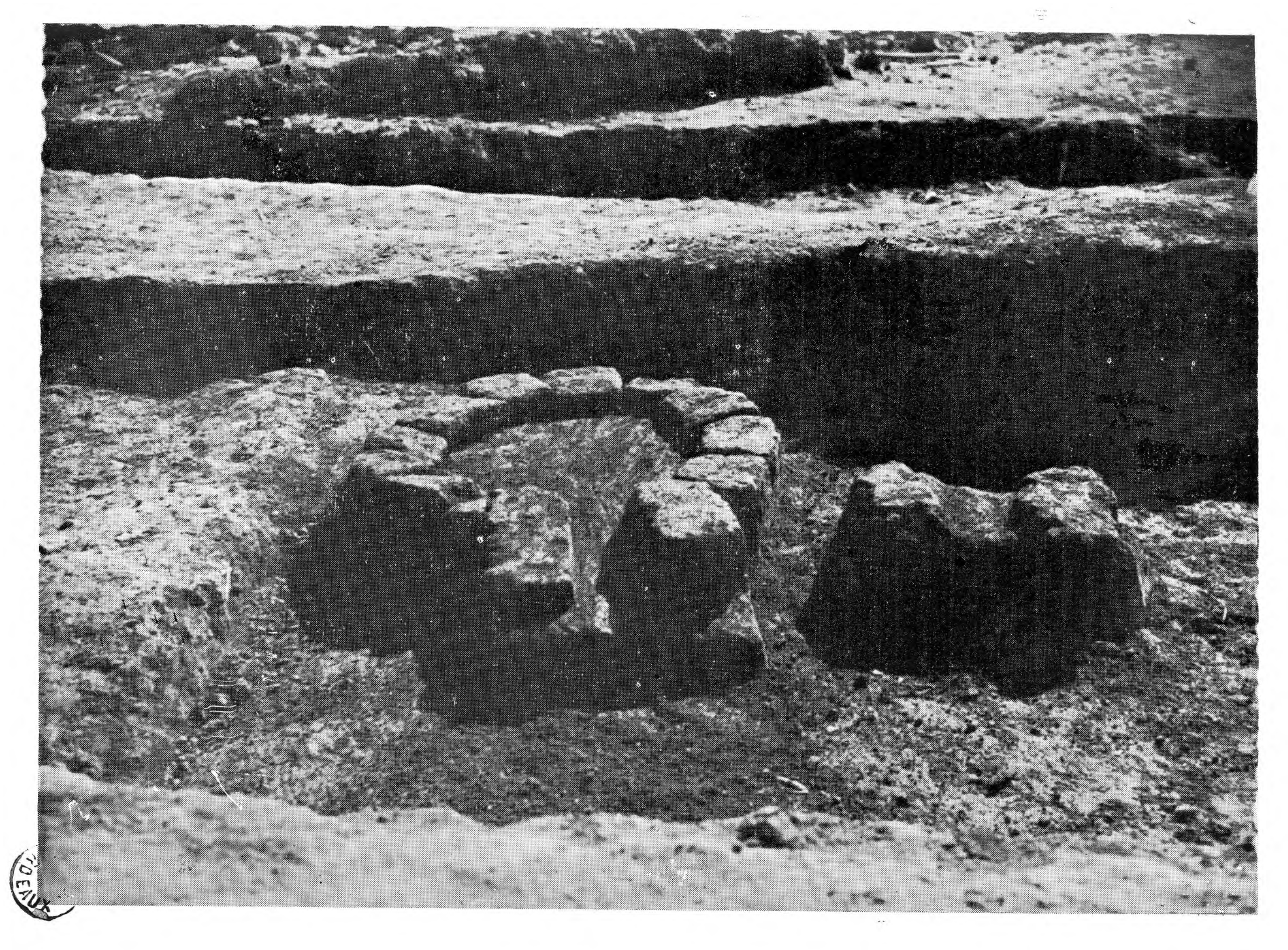
Salle recouverte de dalles en pierre calcaire

Pl. III



Des jarres en poterie fixées dans le sol d'une chambre

Pl. IV



Four circulaire pour préparer les aliments

Pl. V



Fours pour la cuisson des poteries

Pl. VI

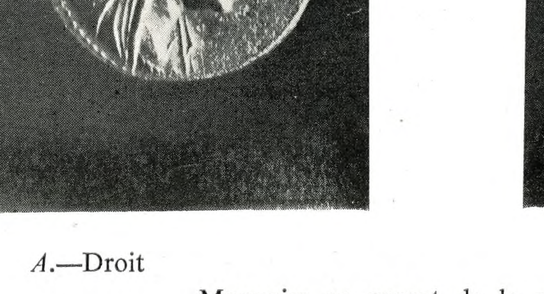


A.—Droit

B.—Revers

Monnaies en argent d'Alexandre le Grand

Pl. VII





A.—Droit *B.*—Revers

Monnaies en argent de la reine Bérénice II

Pl. VIII



Statuette obscène en terre cuite d'une longueur de 22 cm.



Vases en terre cuite

Pl. X



Un cadavre à l'intérieur de deux vases cylindriques

Pl. XI

Pl. XII

Un cadavre trouvé sur le sol d'une chambre

A STELA FROM MENDES

by

IBRAHIM KAMEL

The excavation of the Antiquities Department at Tell Timai-el-Amdid[1], was carried out by Ibrahim Amer, under the supervision of my colleage Heshmat Messiha during March and April 1963, and I hope that it will soon be published.

However, among the monuments found, there was a small stela which attracted my attention and interest when I was inspecting the site. I give here a short account of it.

Material	:	Limestone
Dimensions	:	Height (max.) 41 c.m.
		Breadth (max.) 40.5 c.m.
		Thickness (max.) 14 c.m.
Provenance	:	Tell Timai-el-Amdid
Workmanship	:	Mediocre.

The stela is round-topped, and is now being kept in the store of the Zagazig Inspectorate. It is registered under no 228.

Description :

The stela is divided by a horizontal line which separated the rounded top part from the main scene.

(1) Timai-el-Amdid, the capital of the XVIth Nome of Lower Egypt ; see PORTER & MOSS, IV, p. 35.

The first part is incised with the winged sun-disk; hanging down from it are two uraeus, with the sign ☥ at the bottom. To the left and right of the uraeus, there are two similar columns of incised inscription which read :

"Beḥdet, the great god, lord of the sky".

The second part of the stela, which occupies two thirds of the plate, shows a complete scene of persons and gods accompanied by hieroglyphic inscriptions, which are mutilated and which are incised above the heads of the persons and divinities. Beginning from the right : a crowned king, facing left, is shown standing with his right foot forward. He is presenting, on his two outstretched hands, the field symbol, which means a gift of land. The offering is being presented to a ram bearing the solar-disk between his two horns. The line of hieroglyphs reads :

" King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Ptolemy, living for ever as Rʿ "

Above the head of the ram, the main divinity of the Nome, who stands on a pedestal, there is a faint[(1)] hierog lyphic inscription which reads :

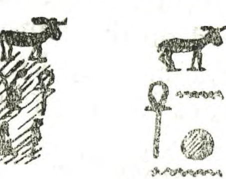


" The ram, lord of *ḏdt* (Mendes) "

The third figure is a ram-headed god wearing the *atef* crown, but it differs from the former, because the god here has a human body. He stands with his left

(1) Although the signs are mutilated, yet one can distinguish the *b3* the *nb* and traces of *ḏdt*.

leg forward and wears a short skirt, with his right hand hanging down and holding the sign of life, while his left arm clasps the usual *w3s* sceptre. Beside the crwon there are two columns of hieroglyphs which are illegible :



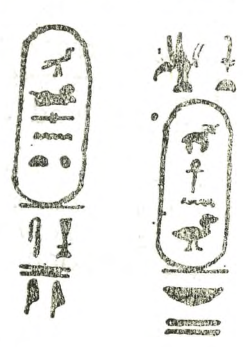
" The living ram . . . "

The fourth figure is a goddess standing. She is Isis holding the ☥ sign in her right hand, while she clasps the *w3s* sceptre in her left hand. The two columns of hieroglyphs read :



" Isis, the great mistress of the North "

The last figure is a lady wearing a double crown over her head. She is Arsinoë, standing facing right with the ☥ sigin in her right hand, and the *w3s* sceptre in her left. The inscriptions beside the head are :



" Queen of Upper and Lower Egypt (*b3 ʿnḥ ngb*) mistress of the two lands (Arsnt), beloved of her brother "

Commentary :

Although this stela is some what poor in preservation and style, yet it is of interest on account of its subject. A stela showing a Ptolemy recording some previleges which he has bestowed on the ram-god, the main divinity of Mendes, should remind any Egyptologist of the well-known stela of Mendes[1]. In spite of the fact that the other name of the king is not mentioned, yet the name of the deified queen proves that he is Ptolemy II Philadelphus, and that this stela was dedicated by him to commemorate a particular event in his life. That event was the death of his wife and sister Arsinoë I. Moreover, we know the relationship between Arsinoë and the ram-god, especially that of Mendis,[2] and how Ptolemy II did his utmost to unite the Egyptians and the Greeks through religion. Our small stela, therefore, is another proof for this fact.

Concerning the death of queen Arsinoë I, it is known that she died during the 15 *th* year of Ptolemy Philadelphus's rign, and that she was worshipped as a goddess,[3] according to the Egyptian cult in the great temple of Mendes. Furthermore being considered as a deity, she was also worshipped in other Egyptian temples.[4] Therefore her death, since it took place during her husband's reign, was important enough for Ptolemy II, her husband and brother, to commemorate it. The cult of her worship was soon decreed, the great stela of Mendes was made, and copies of it were deposited in all the important temples of Egypt. We can state, then, that our small stela was a copy, on a narrow scale, of the famous stela of Mendes, and that ours was once also erected in the great temple of the ıam god at Mendes.

(1) Ahmed Kamal, *Cat, Gén. Stéles Ptolémaïques, etc.*, pp. 159-168 ; KURT SETHE, *Hieroglyphische Urkunden der griechisch-römischen Zeit in : Urkunden des Agyptischen Altertums.* II, p. 28-54, HEINRICH BRUGSCH, *Thesaurus*, 629-631, 658-669, 730-740.

(2) *See* also, Brugsch, Ä.*Z.* XIII, p. 93.

(3) Mendes Stela, L.D. 11-31.

(4) She was worshipped in Alexandria under the name of Arsinoë Philadelphus.

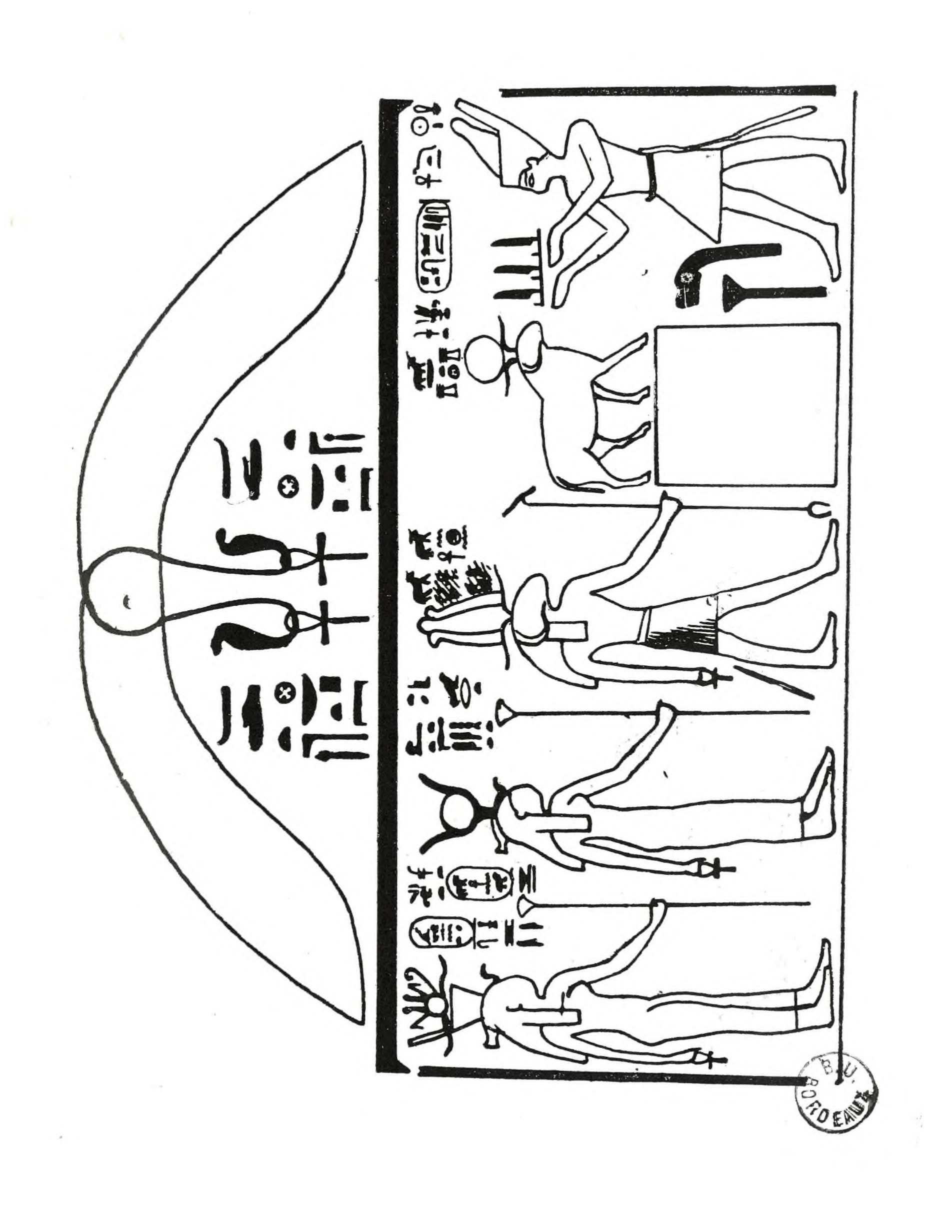
As for the date of this stela, we know that Ptolemy Philadelphus ruled over Egypt for 39 years[1] (285-246 B.C.) and that his wife Arsinoë I died in 270 B.C. We can say with certainty that this stela dates to the years between 270 and 246 B.C.

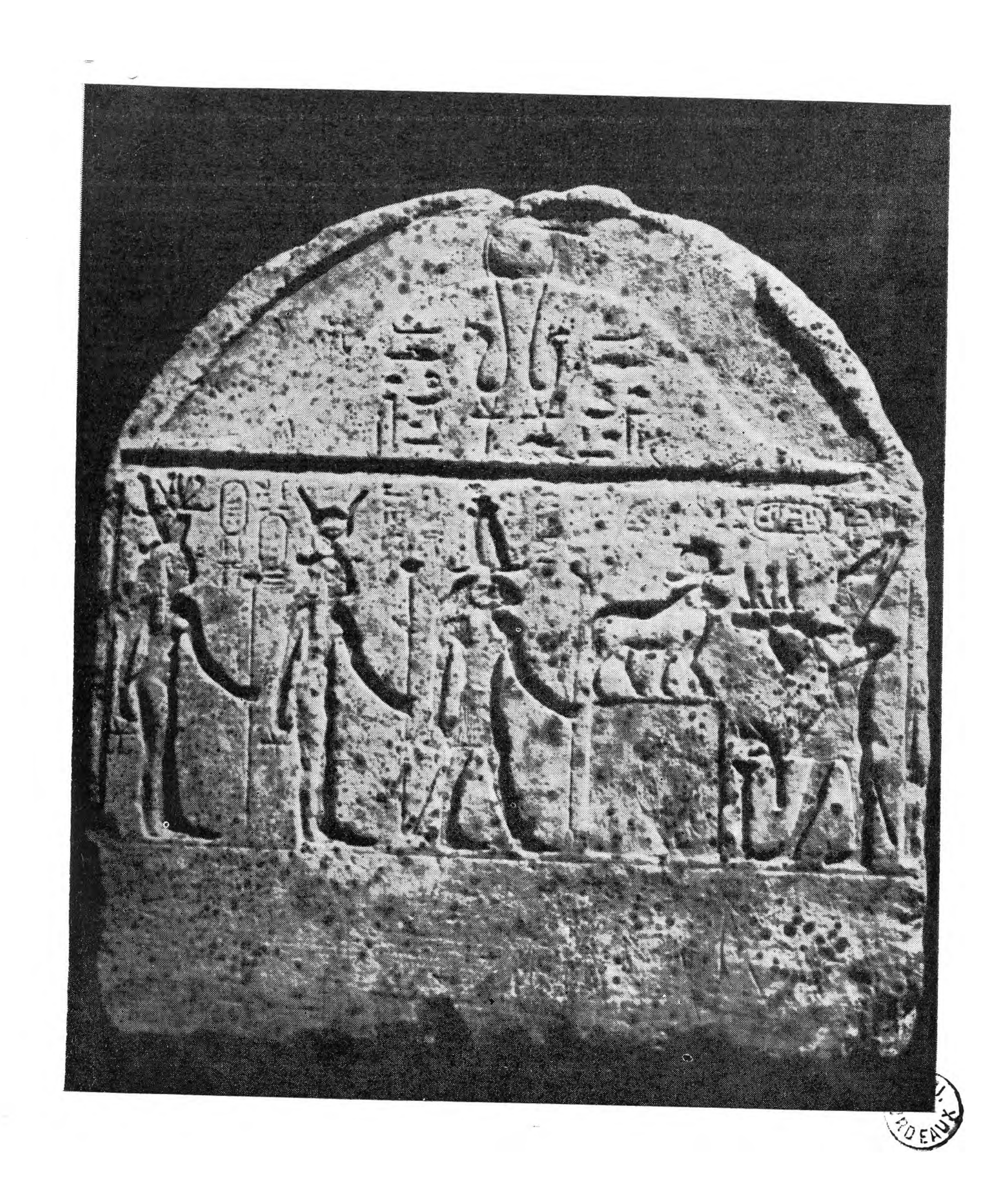
It is to be noted that the ram standing on the pedestal is the new ram whom the priests of Mendes had discovered and to whom Ptolemy Philadelphus had erected this stela. On the other hand, the ram-headed figure with the human body is the " living ram ", or the dead ram, who had been replaced by the newly discovered ram, and who was also worshipped as a deity accompanied by the two goddesses, Isis and Arsinoë.

IBRAHIM KAMEL

(1) *See* GAUTHIER, *L.R*,, IV, p. 222, Note 1, 2. But *see* also BEVAN, *The. Ptolamaic Dynasty*, p. 55, and p. 386.

Pl. I





PIERRE LACAU (1873—1963)

par

JEAN-PHILIPPE LAUER

Le 27 mars 1963, l'égyptologie perdait en Pierre Lacau, qui était entré dans sa quatre-vingt-dixième année, l'un de ses meilleurs savants et l'une de ses personnalités les plus marquantes. Ce grand égyptologue, de haute valeur morale et scientifique, fit autorité dans cette branche de l'Orientalisme durant un demi-siècle, d'abord en Egypte même où, après la retraite de Maspero, il eut à assumer de 1914 à 1936 la lourde charge de la Direction générale du Service des Antiquités, puis principalement à Paris, où le Collège de France lui confia de 1938 à 1947 la chaire de Champollion.

Originaire du Berry par son père et de la Brie par sa mère, il était né le 25 novembre 1873 à Brie-Comte-Robert, dans la maison de son aïeul maternel (1), le second d'une grande famille de sept enfants : quatre garçons et trois filles. Son père qui, membre de la Société Centrale des Architectes à Paris, édifia près d'une cinquantaine d'immeubles dans la capitale, comptait sur son fils aîné, lui-même architecte D.P.L.G., pour lui succéder. Mais ce dernier étant mort au champ d'honneur au cours de la première guerre mondiale, c'est au plus jeune de ses frères qu'il incomba plus tard de reprendre le cabinet paternel. Quant à P. Lacau lui-même, s'il avait ainsi passé une partie de son enfance dans un milieu d'architectes, ce qui expliquera certaines qualités de son esprit et certains traits de son œuvre, il semblait plutôt porter un vif intérêt à tout ce qui touchait à l'histoire naturelle, tout en se révélant fort doué pour les lettres. Après d'excellentes études secondaires au lycée Condorcet, où il s'était montré élève aussi brillant qu'indiscipliné, il fit une année de rhétorique supérieure dans la classe de

(1) Ce dernier faillit, comme maire de cette commune, être fusillé par l'envahisseur en 1870.

Fernand Gregh, où il remporta des succès au Concours général mais échoua à celui de l'entrée à l'Ecole Normale. Dépité, il décida de s'orienter vers l'étude de la géologie, sa vocation d'égyptologue n'apparaissant ainsi pas particulièrement précoce.

Pierre Lacau suivit donc à la Sorbonne les cours de la licence de Sciences Naturelles, mais peu porté par une formation essentiellement littéraire vers les mathématiques, dont un programme substantiel était exigé pour l'obtention de cette licence, il changea une seconde fois son fusil d'épaule pour se tourner vers la philosophie. Suivant alors les cours de Séailles et surtout de Brochard, qui eut une très notable influence sur la formation de son caractère, il obtint en 1897 sa licence de philosophie et se mit à préparer l'agrégation. Mais parallèlement à ces études P. Lacau, qui alliait à une grande puissance de travail une très vive curiosité d'esprit, avait d'autre part fréquenté, depuis plusieurs années déjà, l'Ecole des Langues Orientales. Il y avait appris l'hébreu, et dès 1894, alors qu'il avait à peine 21 ans, nous le voyons publier et commenter un texte de cette langue sur " une coupe d'incantation hébraïque de la collection Tykiéwicz " dans la *Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie Orientale* (IIIe vol., nº 2, p. 49-51).

D'autre part, l'enseignement prestigieux que Maspero donnait alors sur l'égyptologie tant à l'Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes qu'au Collège de France n'avait pas tardé à éveiller son attention, puis à faire de lui un auditeur passionné et assidu. Entraîné par un penchant irrésistible pour la linguistique, il n'hésita plus à ajouter à l'étude des langues sémitiques celle du copte et des hiéroglyphes. Aussi, lorsque après un échec à l'oral de l'agrégation de philosophie la question se posa pour lui de poursuivre ou non la préparation de ce concours, eut-il nettement conscience que la première alternative serait pour lui une inutile perte de temps, et accepta-t-il avec enthousiasme la proposition que lui fit son maître Maspero de le faire nommer pensionnaire à l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale en vue de l'attacher ensuite à la Commission internationale pour la rédaction du catalogue général du Musée du Caire.

C'est ainsi que Pierre Lacau renonçant à la carrière universitaire gagna en 1899 la terre des pharaons où près de trente-cinq années d'études, de recherches et d'inspections directoriales sur les champs de fouilles et parmi les ruines antiques, allaient lui permettre d'acquérir une connaissance remarquablement approfondie tant de la langue que des monuments de l'ancienne Egypte.

Dès 1901, il publiera des " Textes de l'Ancien Testament en copte sahidique ", dans le *Recueil de Travaux* (vol.23, p.103-124). En 1902, dans la même revue (vol. 24), nous trouvons trois articles de lui sur des sujets purement hiéroglyphiques suivis d'un quatrième intitulé "Notes de phonétique et d'étymologie égyptiennes (I - III) ", où il cherchera à appliquer à l'égyptien les méthodes de la linguistique indo-européenne, tandis que paraissait dans le *B. I. F. A. O.*, II (p.207-211) la publication sous sa signature d'une inscription phénicienne de Chypre.

L'année suivante, P. Lacau faisait encore paraître deux articles d'égyptologie, dont l'un, " Métathèses apparentes en égyptien " (*Rec.Tr*, vol.25, p. 139-161), consacrait ses indéniables qualités de philologue.

Mais, c'est en 1904 que paraîtra pour le *Catalogue général des Antiquités Egyptiennes* du Musée du Caire son premier volume des " Sarcophages antérieurs au Nouvel Empire ", qui sera suivi du second deux ans plus tard. Dans ce catalogue Lacau confirmait par l'excellence de ses transcriptions de textes la grande maîtrise qu'il avait acquise dès ce moment dans la lecture des hiéroglyphes même cursifs et la connaissance de l'égyptien; mais il montra, fait assez rare chez un philologue, qu'il savait également étudier la structure d'une œuvre artisanale et relever ses moindres particularités techniques. Les dispositifs d'emboîtement, de fermeture ou de manœuvre des couvercles de sarcophages sont, en particulier, scrupuleusement notés avec d'excellents croquis à l'appui, chaque fois qu'il est nécessaire.

La rédaction de ce catalogue, d'autre part, le conduisit à s'intéresser aux textes religieux, et particulièrement aux célèbres *Textes des sarcophages* de la fin de la Ière

période intermédiaire et du Moyen Empire, qu'il publiera de 1904 à 1915 dans le *Recueil de Travaux* (vol.26 à 37), frayant ainsi la voie à l'édition critique des *Coffins-texts* par Adrien de Buck.

Après le catalogue des sarcophages, Maspero le chargea d'établir celui des stèles du Nouvel Empire, dont le premier tome parut en 1909, et le second seulement après la grande guerre en 1926. Là, encore, il prouva ses remarquables dons d'épigraphiste et de philologue.

En 1909, paraîtront sous sa signature trois nouvelles "Notes de phonétique et d'étymologie égyptienne (IV-VI)" dans *Recueil de Travaux* (vol.31, p. 73-90). Mais c'est surtout par ses " Notes de grammaire, à propos de la grammaire égyptienne de M. Erman " publiées en 1912 et 1913 (*Rec.Tr.*, vol. 34-35) que P. Lacau s'est imposé parmi les égyptologues . Faisant la mise au point des connaissances acquises sur le système graphique et la phonétique au cours des dernières années par l'école allemande, il contribua puissamment à l'orientation de l'école française vers cette voie nouvelle.

Après avoir été nommé en 1912 directeur de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire, et élu le Ier décembre 1913 membre titulaire de l'Institut Egyptien[1], Lacau faisait encore paraître au début de 1914 dans la *Z. Ä. S* à Berlin un long article de 64 pages, qui fit époque et demeure toujours actuel, sur les " Suppressions et modifications de signes dans les textes funéraires ".

Ces importantes publications, auxquelles s'étaient ajoutées diverses autres contributions concernant, en particulier, la coptologie, le désignèrent tout naturellement à la direction du Service des Antiquités de l'Egypte même lorsque, en juillet 1914, Maspero fatigué et malade dut précipitamment prendre sa retraite. Mais, se trouvant alors en congé en France, il n'avait pas encore pu

[1] Ce n'est qu'en 1918 que cette société savante reprendra son appellation initiale d'Institut d'Egypte.

prendre possession de ses nouvelles fonctions de haut fonctionnaire du Gouvernement Egyptien, que la première grande guerre mondiale éclatait. Pierre Lacau, qui était profondément patriote, ne songea pas un instant à arguer de sa récente nomination pour regagner l'Egypte et, bien qu'il eût déjà atteint la quarantaine, il rejoignit son corps de troupe d'infanterie territoriale comme simple caporal. Bientôt envoyé au front, il participa courageusement à la guerre de tranchées, gagna son galon de sergent, mais refusa toute promotion au rang d'officier afin de pouvoir rester en contact plus étroit avec ses hommes et soutenir leur moral.

Dans l'été de 1915, il fut mis en demeure par le Gouvernement Egyptien de venir prendre possession de ses fonctions directoriales ou d'avoir à les résilier. Le poste risquant ainsi d'être perdu pour son pays, il dut se résigner à quitter ses camarades de combat pour regagner le Caire. Le Service des Antiquités s'y trouvait assez désorganisé avec une activité très réduite tant par la raréfaction de ses fonctionnaires européens, dont plusieurs avaient été appelés sous les drapeaux, que par les économies budgétaires imposées. Depuis la déclaration de guerre, les chantiers de fouilles avaient été suspendus, et les travaux du Service se limitaient aux consolidations ou protections indispensables. C'est ainsi qu'à Karnak Legrain avait été chargé d'assurer les fonctions d'inspecteur en chef pour la Haute-Egypte, travail administratif qu'il n'appréciait guère. Lacau vint le visiter, et inspecta avec lui minutieusement les principaux sites de son secteur afin de parer au plus pressé ; puis, revenus séjourner quelque temps ensemble à Karnak, ils purent discuter longuement sur place du plan à adopter pour entreprendre une publication digne de ce prodigieux complexe monumental.

Après sept mois environ passés à remettre ainsi en ordre son administration, il estima que sa présence n'était plus indispensable, et ayant délégué ses fonctions au Secrétaire Général, Georges Daressy, il s'embarqua en avril 1916 à destination de la France pour y reprendre courageusement son poste de combat.

Au cours de l'hiver 1917, deux volontaires ayant été demandés pour effectuer une reconnaissance au-delà de l'Aisne qu'il fallait donc traverser à la nage, il se présenta estimant, ainsi qu'il l'écrivit alors à son père, que c'était à des célibataires comme lui et non à des pères de famille que pareilles tâches devaient incomber. La reconnaissance fut couronnée de succès, mais au retour, pendant le franchissement de la rivière, son coéquipier fut atteint par une balle. Lacau, qui était excellent nageur, réussit en plongeant et en nageant à demi sous l'eau à le ramener à la rive, ce qui lui valut la croix de guerre ; mais, au cours du violent effort nécessité par cet acte d'héroïsme, il avait contracté une pleurésie qui entraîna sa réforme pour le service armé. C'est alors seulement qu'il accepta de regagner définitivement l'Egypte, jugeant qu'il serait plus utile à son pays en reprenant là-bas ses fonctions directoriales qu'en France comme auxiliaire subalterne dans un bureau militaire de l'arrière.

Il rentra ainsi au Caire juste pour apprendre la mort, survenue en fin d'août à Karnak, de son collaborateur Georges Legrain, qu'il aimait et estimait, et auquel il consacra dans les *A S A E* (XIX) un bel et émouvant article nécrologique. Deux ans plus tard, le 15 novembre 1919, il épousait Melle Anne-Marie Bernard, la fille de l'éminent géographe qui professa à l'Université d'Alger puis à la Sorbonne, et de leur union naquirent quatre enfants, deux fils et deux filles.

Ainsi qu'il avait déjà commencé à le faire, lorsqu'il avait été nommé à la direction de l'Institut Français du Caire, P. Lacau ne se cantonnera plus essentiellement dans la philologie et la phonétique ; il se penchera délibérément aussi sur tous les problèmes d'archéologie et d'architecture en présence desquels allaient le mettre ses inspections directoriales sur les différents chantiers de fouilles et sites de l'Egypte antique. Dépêchant son collaborateur Emile Baraize en chaque point où un monument exigeait une intervention, il n'hésitait pas à le rejoindre pour décider des mesures à prendre, si le problème se montrait difficile. L'archéologie monumentale retiendra

alors grandement son attention. Par une sorte de penchant atavique il aimait, en effet, les monuments, savait en apprécier la beauté et n'hésitait pas à en étudier la structure même, en la disséquant, pourrait-on dire, exactement comme il excellait à le faire pour un texte. " Relever un plan ", écrivait-il[1] " est une des tâches les plus délicates qui s'imposent à nous. C'est lire sur la pierre les intentions du constructeur en s'asservissant à l'interprétation des moindres traces subsistantes. De même qu'à travers les débris d'un texte il faut restituer les mots de chaque phrase pour pouvoir, à travers les phrases, ressusciter les idées, de même il faut retrouver les lignes de chaque mur pour de l'ensemble de ces murs faire comprendre l'usage du monument..... " La moindre particularité constructive ou autre, chaque détail éveillait immédiatement l'attention de son esprit ouvert à tout problème nouveau qui surgissait, et qu'il s'efforçait de résoudre avec une extrême rigueur scientifique. Il se refusait à retenir les solutions de facilité, et ne faisait état d'une hypothèse que lorsque celle-ci pouvait être solidement étayée. C'est ainsi que presque chaque année de 1921 à 1926, au moment de son congé d'été passé en France, il rendra compte à l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, dont il fut élu correspondant en 1923, des travaux exécutés par le Service des Antiquités[2] ; ce sera pour lui l'occasion non seulement de communiquer et de commenter quantité d'observations rendues possibles par ses travaux sur tel ou tel monument, mais également d'exposer les principes et les raisons qui inspiraient ses directives pour leur préservation ou leur restauration.[3]

Dès 1919, ayant fait reprendre par Baraize les fouilles au temple de Dendérah, qui y avaient été suspendues depuis 1914, il suivra de près les travaux de dégagement d'un *Mammisi* ou temple de la naissance, commencé par Nectanébo II et achevé par les premiers Ptolémées, ainsi que d'une basilique chrétienne construite avec les blocs remployés du temple; et il contribua personnellement, par le

(1) *Archéologie pharaonique*, dans *L'Egypte*, 1926, p. 91.

(2) Cf. *CRAIBL* années 1920, 1921, 1922, 1924, 1926.

(3) Cf. également à ce sujet : P. LACAU, *Archéologie pharaonique*, dans *L'Egypte*, 1926, p. 79-94.

sens atavique qu'il avait de la composition d'un plan, à la découverte de l'emplacement du lac sacré. Il ne manquera pas d'observer, d'autre part, qu'à Dendérah l'écoulement de l'eau sur les toits avait été assuré avec le plus grand soin. " Le revêtement en pierre de la toiture ", écrit-il (1), " est divisé en trois pentes très nettement sensibles et orientées vers trois gargouilles. Il est convenu qu'il ne pleut pas en Egypte, et nous sommes toujours étonnés chaque fois que nous constatons avec quel soin les Egyptiens ont assuré l'évacuation de l'eau dans les temples. Dès les plus anciennes époques, ils en ont reconnu la nécessité pratique, et rien en fait n'est plus logique ; la pluie, assurément, était tout aussi rare dans le passé qu'aujourd'hui, mais un seul orage, si l'eau avait filtré par la toiture ou n'avait pas été rejetée par des gargouilles loin des murs, aurait suffi à détruire toute la peinture extérieure et intérieure, puisque toutes les surfaces décorées étaient peintes. Il y avait donc économie à prévoir cet écoulement, sans parler de l'impureté rituelle que pouvait entraîner l'eau salissant les parois d'une chapelle.... "

Ailleurs, près d'Achmounein, dans la nécropole de Tounah el-Guébel, il confiait à Gustave Lefebvre le déblaiement et l'étude de l'important tombeau de Pétosiris, grand-prêtre de Thôt, particulièrement remarquable par les tentatives tout à fait exceptionnelles qui y furent faites pour modifier le mode de représentation et les conventions traditionnelles de l'art égyptien. "Une scène est même entièrement grecque", note-t-il (2), ".... Quant aux scènes égyptiennes, elles sont traitées d'une façon qui rompt absolument avec la tradition. C'est une liberté dans la pose et l'attitude des personnages, qui est tout à fait contraire aux procédés égyptiens...." Les travaux entrepris là amenèrent, d'autre part, la découverte des souterrains des ibis sacrés, dont il chargera plus tard le Professeur Sami Gabra d'entreprendre l'exploration méthodique pour le compte de l'Université Egyptienne de Guizeh.

(1) Cf. *CRAIBL*, année 1921, p. 309.
(2) Cf. *ibid.*, année 1920, p. 364.

Quant aux principaux chantiers qu'il tint à réserver essentiellement au Service des Antiquités, à savoir Saqqarah et Karnak qui avaient été clos au moment de la guerre, ce n'est qu'au cours de l'hiver 1920-21 qu'il put les faire rouvrir. A Saqqarah C.M. Firth, qui y avait déjà succédé à Quibell en 1914 comme inspecteur en chef, et qui avait été mobilisé, reprendra possession de son poste ; quant à Karnak, où la disparition de Legrain se faisait cruellement sentir, la direction des travaux y sera confiée à l'architecte Maurice Pillet.

Les directives de Pierre Lacau seront alors les suivantes : A Saqqarah, retrouver, d'une part, les temples funéraires des pyramides et leurs dépendances, en commençant par compléter le dégagement du temple de celle de Téti, et étudier, d'autre part, la tombe memphite : " L'extérieur de la tombe", indique-t-il (1), "la façon dont elle se relie avec les tombes voisines, l'agencement du puits et de la chambre funéraire proprement dite nous sont à peu près inconnus..... Il m'a paru indispensable de continuer et d'élargir cette enquête. "

A Karnak, il s'agissait essentiellement, tout en effectuant les consolidations indispensables et des sondages en vue des recherches à entreprendre, de pousser activement la publication de toutes les parties architecturales qu'on pouvait considérer comme terminées, et dont Legrain n'avait qu'à peine pu entamer les relevés. Néanmoins, comme la présence de blocs d'albâtre provenant d'une chapelle d'Aménophis Ier avait été reconnue dans les fondations du IXe pylône, P. Lacau, prévoyant dès ce moment ce qui allait pouvoir être réalisé 25 ans plus tard par H. Chevrier (2), donna l'instruction à Maurice Pillet de commencer au cours de la campagne 1921-1922 l'extraction de ces blocs : " Nous démolirons du pylône " expliquera-t-il quelques mois après à l'Académie (3), " tout ce qu'il faudra pour extraire la suite, et nous rétablirons une chapelle entière d'Amenothès Ier..... ". Dans sa notice

(1) *CRAIBL*, année 1921, p. 312.
(2) Cf. *ASAE*, t. XLVII, p. 165-169 et pl. XXIV, XXV, 1, XXVII, ainsi que t. XLIX, p. 10, et pl. IX, X.
(3) *CRAIBL*, année 1922, p. 376.

nécrologique sur Georges Legrain, il écrivit également à ce sujet [(1)] : " Il faudrait pouvoir soulever tous les temples actuellement debout et nous lirions sous leurs fondations l'histoire de ceux qui les ont précédés..... "

Au cours de l'hiver 1921-1922, il eut à recevoir Clémenceau qui visita l'Egypte au cours d'un voyage vers les Indes. Le grand homme d'état s'étant étonné qu'il ne fut pas encore titulaire de la Légion d'Honneur ne manqua pas de faire réparer cet oubli dès son retour en France.

C'est, d'autre part, durant cette première période de la direction de P. Lacau, en 1922, qu'eut lieu la sensationnelle découverte de la tombe intacte de Toutankh-Amon par la mission Lord Carnarvon dirigée par Howard Carter. Cet événement extraordinaire qui attira en Egypte les journalistes du monde entier, et à leur suite une ruée touristique sans précédent, fut la source pour le Service des Antiquités de difficultés sans nombre, auxquelles son directeur dut faire face avec toute la force et la droiture de caractère dont il savait faire preuve. Devant l'ampleur et la richesse tout à fait exceptionnelle de cette collection, P. Lacau estima que celle-ci ne devait pas être éparpillée en faisant l'objet d'un partage, mais qu'il était nécessaire qu'elle demeurât tout entière en Egypte, où elle serait exposée au Musée du Caire de façon définitive. Pareille décision déchaîna bien entendu une tempête de protestations ainsi qu'une violente campagne contre sa gestion des Antiquités,tant de la part de Carter et de la mission Carnarvon, que de celle de différents musées ou instituts britaniques et américains, qui apportant leur aide bénévole pour le dépouillement, le classement et la remise en état des innombrables objets recueillis, comptaient bien en obtenir une part. Lacau, considérant qu'il devait avant tout défendre le patrimoine égyptien antique dont il avait la garde, et loyalement appuyé en cela par ses collaborateurs anglais au Service des Antiquités, C.C. Edgar, C.M. Firth, H. Lucas et R. Engelbach, fit front courageusement. Il n'hésita pas à écarter catégoriquement les doléances des principaux égyptologues anglais et américains, et même à rompre

(1) *ASAE*, t. XIX, p. 112.

avec certains d'entre eux, qui lui tinrent longtemps rigueur de cette attitude. En revanche, grâce à celle-ci, le Musée du Caire peut s'enorgueillir aujourd'hui de posséder la totalité d'une collection vieille de 3.000 ans, d'un prix inestimable tant par sa valeur intrinsèque même, que par l'attrait prodigieux qu'elle ne cesse et ne cessera durant longtemps encore d'exercer sur le monde touristique.

Malgré la lourde charge administrative que représentait la direction du Service des Antiquités, P. Lacau publia encore pendant cette période plusieurs articles philologiques. Puis, à partir de 1927, de plus en plus tenu par ses inspections de chantiers de fouilles et de restaurations, et surtout par les séjours prolongés qu'il jugea nécessaire de faire à Karnak pour s'y consacrer à l'étude des innombrables blocs inscrits que Henri Chevrier, qui avait succédé à Pillet depuis 1926, ne cessait d'extraire presque journellement des pylônes du grand temple, l'on ne verra plus paraître sous sa signature jusqu'à la fin de sa direction en 1936 qu'un seul article traitant d'hiéroglyphes. Il s'agira de sa contribution aux "Mélanges Victor Loret" dans le *BIFAO*, t. XXX.

Ma première rencontre avec P. Lacau remontait à l'été de 1926 à Paris où je lui fus présenté, alors qu'il était en quête d'un architecte pour l'étude des vestiges des monuments du roi Zoser, que depuis 1924 C.M.Firth faisait peu à peu surgir des sables de Saqqarah, et dont le déblaiement se poursuivait. Dès l'abord de la conversation que nous eûmes alors, je fus vivement frappé par la profondeur de son regard vif et direct qui illuminait sa figure olympienne ainsi que par l'autorité aussi savante que simple et bienveillante qui émanait de ses propos ; je réalisai immédiatement combien ma chance serait grande, si ma candidature était agréée, de pouvoir débuter en archéologie sous la direction d'un pareil maître. Quant à l'impression, que je pus pour ma part lui laisser, elle dut être favorable, puisqu'il obtenait peu après du Gouvernement Egyptien mon engagement pour une campagne de 8 mois à Saqqarah. Dès mon arrivée au Caire, au début de décembre il me reçut dans son bureau directorial du Service des Antiquités et voulut bien me faire les honneurs d'un tour d'orientation rapide au Musée. Je le

reverrai toujours là, coiffé de son *tarbouche* de fonctionnaire égyptien, qui rehaussait encore sa belle stature et s'accordait si parfaitement à son visage encadré de cette majestueuse barbe déjà tout argentée, parcourant d'un pas alerte et ferme les nombreuses salles où se pressaient tant de chefs d'œuvre et d'objets remarquables, puis me présentant successivement à ses trois éminents collaborateurs français et anglais qui avaient alors la charge de la conservation du Musée : Gustave Lefebvre, Henri Gauthier et Reginald Engelbach, tous disparus plus ou moins longtemps avant lui.

Afin de m'employer utilement en attendant l'achèvement de la petite maison que me construisait C.M.Firth à proximité du site de la Pyramide à degrés où je devais travailler, P. Lacau m'envoya à Saqqarah Sud auprès de Gustave Jéquier qui, après avoir exploré le Mastabat Faraoun, commençait ses fouilles du complexe monumental de la pyramide de Pépi II. J'effectuai ainsi sous la direction de ce savant égyptologue mes premiers relevés archéologiques, puis, lorsqu'après quelques semaines j'eus commencé ma collaboration avec C.M. Firth pour l'étude des monuments du roi Zoser, P. Lacau vint fréquemment me voir à l'œuvre, suivant de près la progression de mes recherches sur cette architecture d'un caractère si nouveau, discutant les solutions que je préconisais dans le moindre détail, et ne cessant de me faire bénéficier de sa grande connaissance des monuments égyptiens et de sa prodigieuse érudition. A la fin de cette saison 1926-1927, il me demanda de revenir pour une seconde campagne et d'ajouter auparavant aux dessins de restitution, que je lui avais remis, un exposé détaillé sur la façon dont j'avais pu obtenir ces résultats avec tous les croquis complémentaires à l'appui, afin de publier le tout dans les *Annales du Service des Antiquités*. Il voulut bien alors me consacrer plusieurs heures pour m'aider à mettre ce travail au point : ce fut ma première "Etude sur quelques monuments de la IIIe dynastie " [1], parue en 1927, pour laquelle je lui fus donc grandement redevable.

[1] Cf. *ASAE*, t. XXVII, p. 112-133 avec 7 planches.

Plus tard, en 1931, après la mort prématurée de C. M. Firth, le poste d'inspecteur en chef à Saqqarah fut laissé vacant pour des raisons d'économie budgétaire. La maison du Service des Antiquités normalement destinée au titulaire de ce poste étant ainsi inoccupée, P. Lacau décida de l'utiliser lui-même pour séjourner à Saqqarah chaque fois qu'il aurait la possibilité d'y venir travailler. Estimant, d'autre part, qu'avant de rouvrir sur le site un chantier important, les publications laissées inachevées par Firth et, principalement celle de la Pyramide à degrés, devaient avoir été menées à bien, il accepta la réduction du crédit affecté aux fouilles que réclamait le Gouvernement égyptien. Pour la publication du complexe de la Pyramide à degrés, il fit alors appel à J.E. Quibell qui avait longuement travaillé sur les lieux, et qui avait encore assisté Firth de 1925 à 1927 précisément sur ce chantier, avant de prendre sa retraite à Cambridge.

Mais, si les monuments extérieurs de l'ensemble funéraire de Zoser avaient été, en effet, dans l'ensemble suffisamment dégagés, il n'en était pas de même pour les souterrains de la pyramide, où Firth avait atteint des galeries plus profondes, ignorées de Perring et de Lepsius ; un déblaiement systématique était indispensable pour en dresser un relevé complet et en interpréter la signification. P. Lacau mis au courant nous autorisa à reprendre l'exploration souterraine de la pyramide même, avec un petit nombre d'ouvriers.

Tout un système de galeries funéraires dirigées d'Est en Ouest à partir de puits recouverts par la face orientale de la pyramide apparut alors ; il était originellement indépendant du dispositif même du caveau et de l'appartement funéraires royaux, et se trouvait à un niveau sensiblement inférieur. Des sarcophages d'albâtre plus ou moins brisés et les restes humains recueillis montrèrent qu'il s'agissait là de tombes de princesses et d'enfants royaux. Mais, en novembre 1933, alors que nous pensions toucher à la fin de ces déblaiements souterrains, la découverte inattendue d'une nouvelle galerie jamais atteinte par les voleurs et entièrement remplie de vaisselle de pierre malheureusement broyée par l'affaissement de son ciel bouleversa

le programme tracé par P. Lacau. Il y avait là, en effet, plusieurs dizaines de milliers de vases brisés pour la plupart, mais complets en principe, de types et de matières les plus variés, qu'il importait d'extraire en mêlant les fragments le moins possible. De plus, dès le vidage des premiers mètres de cette galerie, des inscriptions hiéroglyphiques apparurent soit gravées, soit tracées à l'encre cursivement sur bon nombre de ces fragments, qu'il fallait donc pouvoir examiner de près à l'extérieur sous un éclairage favorable, afin de recueillir tous les textes et d'en rechercher les compléments s'il y avait lieu. Aussi P. Lacau n'hésita-t-il pas à venir se joindre à nous pour entreprendre immédiatement la copie de ces précieuses inscriptions remontant le plus souvent aux Ière et IIe dynasties dont les documents écrits étaient jusque là extrêmement rares. Pendant les trois dernières années de sa direction du Service des Antiquités, il tint à passer ainsi à Saqqarah les semaines nécessaires pour mener à bien, concomitamment à notre travail souterrain de déblaiement de ces galeries et d'extraction des 30 à 40.000 vases en fragments qu'elles contenaient, le relevé systématique et la transcription de toutes ces inscriptions qui dépassaient de beaucoup un millier.

Mais P. Lacau assumait d'autre part, nous l'avons dit, depuis plusieurs années la charge de l'étude des innombrables blocs inscrits mis au jour à Karnak principalement au cours des travaux de vidage et de consolidation du IIIe pylône par H. Chevrier, et qui allaient permettre à ce dernier d'effectuer ses magnifiques reconstructions des deux monuments de Sésostris Ier et d'Aménophis Ier et de préparer celle du sanctuaire de la barque de la reine Hatchepsout. Dès lors, il dut ainsi partager son temps entre Karnak et Saqqarah, quand les obligations de ses fonctions directoriales ne l'appelaient pas au Caire ou en d'autres points de Basse ou de Haute-Egypte. Aussi conçoit-on que ce labeur acharné qu'il tint à assumer lui-même sur les deux principaux chantiers de son Service ait sérieusement ralenti la cadence de ses publications, et deux articles seulement, qui ne comportaient pas d'hiéroglyphes mais où il faisait à nouveau montre de son

érudition, l'un sur " Les inscriptions latines du temple de Louxor"[1] et l'autre sur "Un graffito égyptien d'Abydos écrit en lettres grecques" [2],paraîtront sous sa signature durant cette période.

En revanche, il amassait ainsi une somme extraordinaire de documents, dont il allait quelques années plus tard tirer un parti magistral dans ses cours au Collège de France. Mais en 1936, fatigué par le climat malgré la robustesse de son tempérament, il décidait de regagner définitivement la France, et au mois d'avril, nonobstant l'insistance du roi Fouad qui l'avait en très haute estime, du Ministère égyptien de l'Instruction Publique, de ses collaborateurs et de ses nombreux amis, il quittait ce Service des Antiquités qu'il avait marqué de sa forte personnalité et dirigé d'une main ferme avec tant de compétence à travers bien des remous durant 22 années.

Il n'avait jamais brigué les honneurs, et si, néanmoins, les plus hautes décorations lui furent conférées tant de la part de l'Egypte même que de nombreux pays européens, dont il avait eu à accompagner les souverains au cours de visites officielles, il attachait si peu de valeur à ces marques extérieures de dignité qu'il se refusa délibérément lors de son départ à remplir les formulaires nécessaires à l'obtention de la cravate de Commandeur de la Légion d'Honneur, pour laquelle le ministre de France voulait le proposer.

De retour à Paris, Pierre Lacau, âgé de près de 63 ans, semble prendre sa retraite, mais bientôt, dès 1938, il va commencer une nouvelle carrière. C'est, en effet, tout naturellement à lui que le Collège de France fera appel lorsque la mort d'Alexandre Moret eut laissé vacante la chaire d'Egyptologie; et un an plus tard, en 1939, l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, dont il était correspondant depuis de nombreuses années, l'élisait membre ordinaire.

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(1) Cf. *ASAE*, t. XXXIV, p. 17-46 et I pl.

(2) Cf. *Etudes de Papyrologie*, vol .2 (Société royale égyptienne de Papyrologie), p. 229-246.

La première série de ses cours au Collège de France, dans l'hiver 1938-1939, portera sur l'étude de la chapelle blanche de Sésostris Ier à Karnak, et de différents textes inédits provenant également de ce site. Puis, ce furent la seconde guerre mondiale et l'occupation étrangère durant lesquelles, demeuré à Paris, il poursuivra son enseignement jusqu'à la libération, et finalement, après celle-ci, pendant 2 ans encore.

Un coup d'œil jeté sur les résumés de ses cours publiés dans l'*Annuaire du Collège de France* (Egyptologie) permet de se rendre compte de la variété des sujets traités qui, dans le cadre de l'Egypte ancienne, touchent à des disciplines aussi variées que la philologie, la phonétique, la morphologie, l'épigraphie, la coptologie, le sémitique, l'histoire, la religion, l'archéologie et même l'architecture.

Atteint par la limite d'âge en 1947 après ces neuf années d'enseignement, Pierre Lacau, qui pourrait aspirer à un repos justement mérité, ne considère nullement sa carrière d'égyptologue comme terminée; et bientôt nous assisterons de sa part, à une nouvelle et remarquable éclosion d'articles et d'ouvrages dont plusieurs donneront leur forme définitive à des idées développées dans ses cours. Il fut alors utilement assisté pour ces publications par l'un de ses meilleurs et plus fidèles disciples, Jean Sainte Fare Garnot, qui, bien que moins âgé de 36 ans, vient, hélas! d'être prématurément arraché à la tendresse de son épouse et de ses jeunes enfants, à peine trois mois après lui.

Dès 1949, P. Lacau fit ainsi paraître une très belle monographie, aux incidences multiples sur " Une stèle juridique de Karnak ", dans le *Supplément aux Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Egypte* (cahier n° 13), où il réaffirmait ses talents de traducteur. Parmi ses nombreux écrits, qui suivirent bientôt, nous citerons, en particulier, concernant des sujets philologiques: ses articles " Sur la chute du *t* final, marque du féminin " (*Revue d'Egyptologie*, t.9), " Les verbes à troisième radicale faible (*i*) ou (*w*) en égyptien ", " Passifs dans les verbes à troisième radicale faible" (*BIFAO*, t.LII), et "Sur le parallélisme dans les Textes des Pyramides et ailleurs ", (Excursus XXVIII de l'ouvrage de Samuel A.B. Mercer, *The Pyramid Texts*, New York, vol. IV, p. 140-157), ainsi que ses études " Sur le système hiéroglyphique " (*Bibli. d'Etudes, IFAO*, t. XXV) et " Egyptien et Sémitique " (*Syria*, t. XXI).

Concernant des sujets archéologiques: ses " Notes sur les plans des temples d'Edfou et de Kom Ombo " (*ASAE*, t. LII), et ses communications et articles " Sur le rôle de l'or dans la décoration des monuments égyptiens " (*Actes du XXIe Congrès international des Orientalistes*), et *ASAE*, t. LIII) et sur " Le panier de pêche égyptien " (*BIFAO*, t. LIV).

Enfin, concernant l'histoire ou la religion : " Sur la reine Hatshepsēwe " (*Revue de l'"Histoire des Religions*, t. XCLIII) et " L'érection du mât devant Amon-Min " (*Chronique d'Egypte*, n°55), texte d'une communication faite en 1951 au XXIIe Congrès international des Orientalistes à Istamboul, où il avait tenu à se rendre.

P. Lacau continuera, par ailleurs, à prendre une part active aux différentes commissions auxquelles son autorité personnelle et ses fonctions l'avaient fait appeler: à l'Institut, au Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, à la Commission des Fouilles du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, à la Commission de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie du Caire, etc.... Enfin, considérant qu'il était de son devoir à l'égard de la Science égyptologique et du Service des Antiquités de l'Egypte de publier ses notes de Karnak sur la chapelle blanche de Sésostris Ier et la chapelle rouge d'Hatshepsout, ainsi que celles de Saqqarah sur les inscriptions des vases de la Pyramide à degrés, il décida de retourner en Egypte pour y effectuer sur place les vérifications nécessaires à la mise au point de ses manuscrits. Ainsi au cours de trois hivers, il n'hésitera pas malgré son grand âge à prendre seul l'avion pour venir rejoindre H. Chevrier et moi-même successivement sur nos chantiers respectifs, la première fois en 1950 avec une mission du Gouvernement, puis les deux autres en 1951 et 1954 à ses propres frais, se refusant à risquer de priver de plus jeunes des missions nécessaires à leurs travaux. Il fit preuve alors sur le

terrain d'une activité et d'une résistance surprenantes; son ardeur au travail était la même que vingt ans auparavant, lorsqu'il n'atteignait encore que la soixantaine. Il fallait littéralement l'arracher à ses copies de textes en plein midi, pour qu'il consentît à rentrer déjeûner. Je me souviens, au cours de son dernier séjour à Saqqarah, de l'avoir conduit à Dahchour visiter le complexe de la " Rhomboïdale ", où avaient travaillé l'architecte Mohamed Abd-Essalam puis, après la mort de ce dernier, le professeur Ahmed Fakhry. Il voulut, quoique ayant alors atteint 80 ans, pénétrer à l'intérieur de cette imposante pyramide pour y revoir la belle chambre voûtée en encorbellement située à 20 mètres au-dessous du niveau du sol. Il n'hésita pas à suivre ainsi en marche fléchie la longue descenderie, de section exigüe, qui aboutit après quelque 80 mètres au pied d'une paroi verticale haute de près de 5 mètres qu'il faut encore escalader à l'aide d'une échelle de corde avant d'atteindre le sol de la chambre. Il fit ce parcours souterrain, aller et retour, sans donner aucun signe de fatigue excessive.

Grâce à ces derniers voyages en Egypte, il put faire paraître en 1956 sur la chapelle de Sésostris Ier à Karnak un beau volume de texte; mais celui des planches dues à H. Chevrier n'a malheureusement pu jusqu'ici voir le jour pour de simples difficultés d'ordre comptable et administratif, que l'intérêt de la Science devrait permettre de trancher rapidement. Il avait donné, par ailleurs, dès 1954 les manuscrits de trois autres ouvrages: deux en collaboration avec moi-même concernant les inscriptions des vases de la Pyramide à degrés, inscriptions gravées d'une part, et inscriptions tracées à l'encre d'autre part qui furent composés à l'imprimerie de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, mais dont les plombs furent ensuite fâcheusement cassés en 1957, et le troisième sur " Une chapelle de la reine Hatshepsēwe à Karnak " en collaboration avec H. Chevrier.

Mais, hélas! un terrible malheur vint assombrir douloureusement les dernières années de Pierre Lacau. Son plus jeune fils, Jean-Louis, qui, après avoir glorieusement combattu en Indo-Chine, avait été rendu depuis peu à la vie civile, périt au printemps de 1957 dans un tragique accident d'automobile au Maroc. De même que son épouse, qui exerçait alors avec un dévouement inlassable la charge de maire-adjoint du XVIe arrondissement, il supporta cette dure épreuve avec le plus grand courage; mais quelques mois plus tard, lors du transfert du corps en France, son émotion fut trop forte, et une lésion cérébrale lui fit perdre l'usage de la majeure partie de son vocabulaire. Il atteignait alors 84 ans. Bien qu'un certain nombre de mots lui fussent revenus peu à peu, il ne pouvait plus soutenir une conversation suivie, sauf avec quelques intimes qui savaient traduire sa pensée. Aussi, cette situation pénible l'irritant profondément, évita-t-il dès lors de rencontrer ses amis et collègues. Il continuait, néanmoins, à lire et s'astreignait chaque jour à trier et à classer ses innombrables notes, travail fastidieux et délicat auquel J. Sainte Fare Garnot vint souvent lui prêter son concours.

Sa belle prestance physique demeurait, d'autre part, sensiblement la même; il se plaisait toujours à cultiver les plantes de ses jardins de la rue Cortambert à Paris, ou de St. Valery-en-Caux, à se promener dans la capitale et à visiter des musées ou des expositions, son esprit s'intéressant encore à une foule de questions. J'eus ainsi de temps à autre l'occasion de l'accompagner dans ses promenades : les nouvelles archéologiques et égyptologiques aussi bien que les événements politiques ou mondiaux retenaient, en particulier, toute son attention. Nous le vîmes au Collège de France assister au cours inaugural de l'un de ses successeurs, le Chanoine E. Drioton, ou, parmi le public, à certaines séances solennelles de l'Institut; mais il prenait soin de s'esquiver avant la fin pour éviter tout colloque. Il tenait, enfin, à honorer la mémoire de ses amis disparus en assistant à la cérémonie de leurs obsèques; ce fut à celle de Louis Massignon, à l'automne dernier, que je l'entrevis l'une des dernières fois avant mon départ pour l'Egypte.

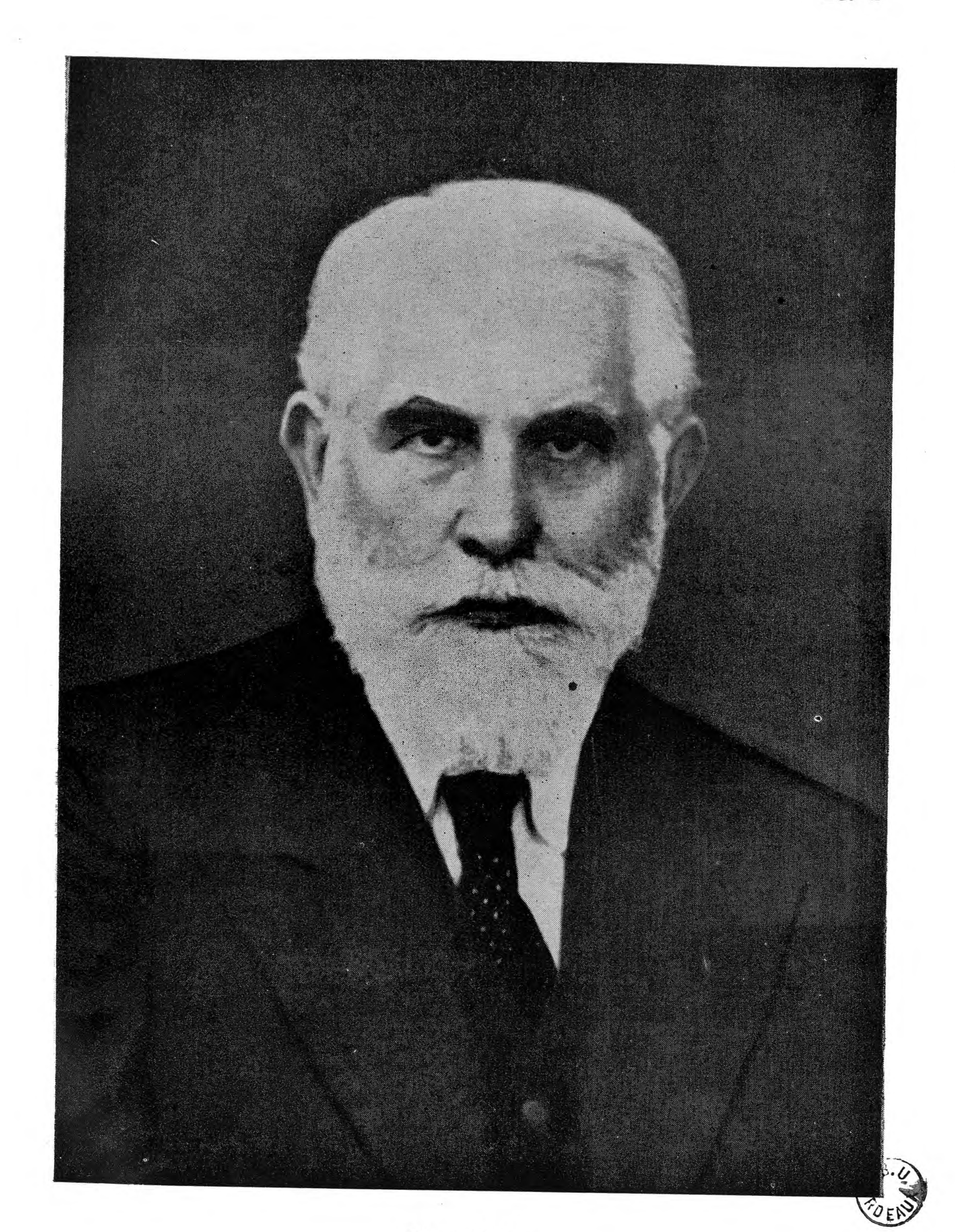
Durant cette période pénible, P. Lacau eut encore la satisfaction de voir paraître quelques-unes de ses oeuvres : en 1957, l'*index* qu'il avait composé pour les

stèles de la XVIIIe dynastie de son "Catalogue des stèles du Nouvel Empire", en fin de la même année, un article sur "Les liquides et matières en grains employés au pluriel" (*BIFAO*, t. LVI); en 1961, sa contribution aux *Mélanges Mariette* (*Bibli. d'Etudes, IFAO*, t. XXXII) sur "La stèle J.E. 59636 du Musée du Caire"; enfin, surtout un de ses ouvrages entrepris avec moi-même sur les vases de la Pyramide à degrés, celui concernant "les inscriptions gravées", qui, recomposé après l'affaire de Suez, parut en deux fascicules, les planches en 1959 à Paris, et le texte en 1961 au Caire. Quant au second volume, celui concernant "les inscriptions tracées à l'encre", il est actuellement en cours d'impression à l'imprimerie de l'Institut Français. Je me réjouissais de lui en rapporter de nouvelles épreuves à mon retour en France au début d'avril, mais la brusque nouvelle de son décès me parvenait, hélas ! juste avant de m'embarquer, et je suis rentré trop tard pour le revoir et lui procurer cet ultime plaisir.

Il est bien à souhaiter que les derniers manuscrits que Pierre Lacau avait déposés prêts à l'impression depuis plusieurs années, en particulier, ceux de son grand volume en collaboration avec H. Chevrier sur "Une chapelle de la reine Hatshepsēwe à Karnak", et de son ouvrage sur "Les noms des parties du corps en égyptien et en sémitique", ainsi que ceux de ses fécondes "Etudes d'Egyptologie sur la Phonétique et sur la Morphologie" et qui n'ont pas encore été mis à la composition, puissent enfin être publiés prochainement. L'Egyptologie s'enrichirait alors grandement de ce précieux leg scientifique d'un de ses maîtres les plus éminents et les plus érudits.

J.-Ph. Lauer

Juillet 1963



Pierre Lacau

SONDAGES DANS LA RÉGION SUD DU COMPLEXE FUNÉRAIRE DE L'HORUS SEKHEM-KHET A SAQQARAH

par

JEAN-PHILIPPE LAUER

Parmi les problèmes que l'interruption des travaux dans l'enceinte de Sekhem-khet, consécutive à la disparition tragique de notre regretté collègue Zakaria Goneim, n'avait pas permis de résoudre, se pose en premier lieu celui de savoir si le complexe funéraire de ce roi, qui paraît avoir été le successeur direct de Zoser[1], n'aurait pas aussi comporté, comme celui de ce dernier, un tombeau du Sud[2]. C'est pourquoi M. le Dr. Anwar Shoukry, Directeur Général du Service des Antiquités, à qui nous avons exposé la question, a bien voulu nous charger d'effectuer avec la collaboration de M. Mounir Basta, Inspecteur du Service des Antiquités à Saqqarah, des sondages dans ce secteur, et mettre à notre disposition au début de 1963 un crédit de £. 200.-, et dans l'hiver 1963-1964 un complément de £. 300.-

I.—Campagne de Janvier—Mars 1963.

Nous avions commencé par examiner la région Sud-Ouest de l'enceinte, en effectuant un sondage dirigé horizontalement du Sud vers le Nord, à l'aide de deux wagonnets de Decauville. Ce sondage, qui ne nous a révélé, au niveau où il a été entrepris, aucune trace ni du mur d'enceinte, ni même de ses fondations[3], pénètre à une quinzaine de mètres au Nord de l'alignement de la fondation méridionale de l'enceinte (*voir* plan I en S_1), dont les fouilles de Zakaria Goneim avaient découvert l'angle Sud-Ouest, dans un

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[1] Cf. J.-PH. LAUER.—*Apport historique....* (CRAIBL, 1954, p. 372).

[2] Cf. J.-PH. LAUER.—*Histoire Monumentale des Pyramides d'Egypte*, I, p. 181, 203 et p. 205, note 2.

[3] Il faudrait donc descendre à un niveau sensiblement inférieur pour retrouver les vestiges de ces dernières.

énorme et curieux amoncellement de petits fragments de roche argileuse ("taffle" en arabe); ce "taffle" rapporté là ne peut provenir que de galeries souterraines ou d'une tranchée extrêmement profonde. Son amoncellement s'élève assez rapidement en direction du Nord, où au bout d'une douzaine de mètres, il atteint 4 m 80 de hauteur au-dessus du plan de base de notre sondage. Il est, d'autre part, recouvert sur son versant par une sorte de croûte argileuse fortement durcie et mêlée de débris de calcaire résultant sans doute de l'exploitation des pierres d'une construction qui aurait été érigée au-dessus. Notre sondage montre, en effet, (*voir* pl. II) à 3 m.50 environ de hauteur, entre deux couches de "taffle", une sorte de muret de pierres sèches; puis, au sommet du massif, de petits sondages verticaux nous ont révélé l'existence de tout un système de cloisonnement de murs de pierres sèches qui reposent également sur le "taffle" rapporté (*voir* pl. VI, et VII). Ces murs de cloisonnement ne seraient ainsi, à notre avis, que les substructures d'une construction plus soignée qui aurait été exploitée par les carriers. Cette construction probablement massive pourrait avoir été du type à toiture arquée transversalement, qui se rencontre au-dessus du tombeau du Sud de Zoser ainsi qu'au-dessus des grands souterrains de l'Ouest dans la même enceinte de la Pyramide à degrés.

Deux autres sondages effectués horizontalement d'Ouest en Est, pour trouver l'enceinte du côté Ouest, à moins d'une quarantaine de mètres de son angle Sud-Ouest (*voir* plan, pl. I, en S_2) ont, d'autre part, également apporté des indications importantes.

Le premier des deux (pl. V), entrepris à un niveau plus bas que du côté Sud, a buté contre le mur de fondation de l'enceinte Ouest, et a livré quatre blocs de calcaire fin de O m. 50 environ de hauteur d'assise, ayant manifestement appartenu au parement de l'enceinte bastionnée et à redans. La preuve est ainsi faite que ce revêtement de calcaire fin fut exécuté du côté Ouest, le plus éloigné et le plus dissimulé pour les gens de Memphis, et par conséquent aussi, sans doute, sur les autres faces plus visibles.

Le second sondage exécuté à quelques mètres au Sud du précédent, et à un niveau légèrement supérieur, nous a permis d'atteindre, à 1O m. 50 environ en arrière de l'alignement de la fondation, la base du parement d'un gros mur de calcaire local (pl.III), dont l'autre parement vers l'Est a été retrouvé, ensuite, conservé plus haut (*voir* pl. IV). Ce mur, qui mesure ainsi plus de 9 mètres d'épaisseur, mais a été terriblement exploité, était celui contre lequel s'adossait le mur bastionné de l'enceinte, épais lui-même de plus de 5 mètres à l'endroit des bastions.

Sur cette face occidentale de l'enceinte, comme sur celle du Sud, la coupe du terrain nous montre un amoncellement de "taffle"; il recouvre ici les vestiges de l'enceinte constituée par ces deux murs juxtaposés. Et l'on comprend parfaitement ce qui s'est passé : le "taffle" contenu par ces gros murs maçonnés s'est mis à s'écouler, lorsque ces derniers furent attaqués par les carriers qui se servirent de ce "taffle" pour constituer leurs rampes de cheminement durant l'exploitation, et celui-ci a recouvert les quelques assises inférieures abandonnées sur place.

Divers sondages verticaux effectués, d'autre part, en des points où apparaissent des poches de sable ne nous ayant pas permis de déceler aucun puits ou départ de descenderie, nous avions alors décidé de reporter nos ouvriers à l'Est, à moins d'une centaine de mètres au Nord de l'emplacement présumé de l'angle Sud-Est de l'enceinte, là où une dépression dans le massif de cette dernière paraît indiquer l'entrée. La photographie aérienne (1) paraît, en outre, marquer, immédiatement à l'Ouest de ce point l'emplacement, au Sud de la pyramide, d'une grande cour qu'il conviendrait également de sonder et de délimiter.

Le crédit accordé de £. 100. ayant été épuisé par nos premiers sondages, nous n'avons pu en obtenir le renouvellement qu'après une interruption d'environ un mois.

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(1) Cf. ZAKARIA GONEIM.—*Horus Sekhem-khet*, I, pl. I.

Un vaste sondage, dirigé horizontalement cette fois d'Est en Ouest, a été alors entrepris à moins d'une centaine de mètres au Nord de l'emplacement présumé de l'angle Sud-Est de l'enceinte et à un niveau assez bas pour atteindre plus sûrement la fondation de cette dernière. Malheureusement, les rails du Decauville sont bientôt venus buter contre un grand mastaba de brique crue d'époque Saïte; de nombreux libages de calcaire siliceux provenant manifestement du massif de l'enceinte de Sekhem-khet avaient été remployés là pour en obturer et dissimuler l'embouchure du puits. Remettant à plus tard le vidage de ce puits, que la modicité du crédit accordé ne pouvait nous permettre d'effectuer, nous avons dû pour assurer l'évacuation de nos déblais contourner ce mastaba (visible pl. IX) et aménager en conséquence les cavaliers de déblais nécessaires.

Le dégagement de l'emplacement situé immédiatement à l'Ouest du mastaba a pu alors être poursuivi; il n'a pas tardé à livrer sous un amoncellement de "taffle", comme nous l'avions déjà constaté au Sud et à l'Ouest, la partie supérieure sensiblement nivelée d'une vaste fondation en libages du calcaire local, sur laquelle gisaient de place en place de gros blocs de calcaire fin de Tourah de O m. 50 à O m. 55 de hauteur d'assise (*voir* pl. IX). La plupart de ces blocs proviennent du parement de l'enceinte qui, ainsi que nous le pensions, avait donc bien été posé de ce côté comme au Nord et à l'Ouest; mais aucun d'eux, hélas! n'est encore à sa place d'origine.

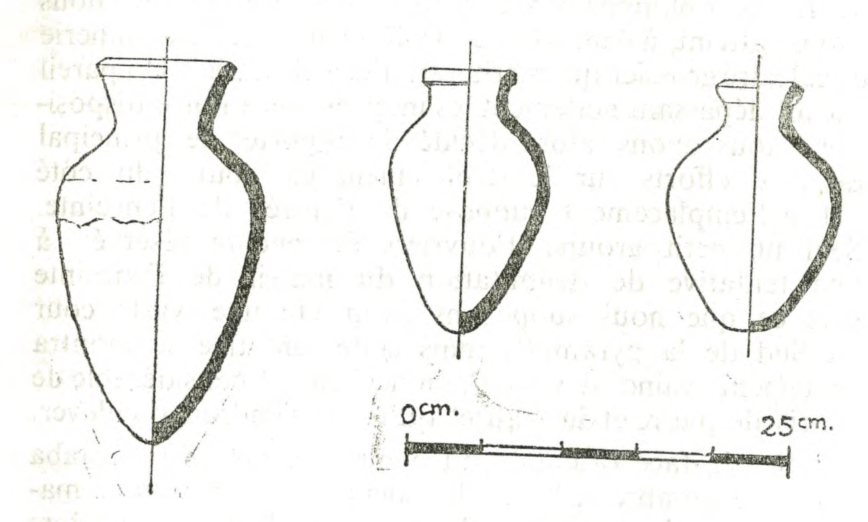
Notons la découverte, au cours de ce déblaiement, de deux maillets de dolérite provenant évidemment des carriers qui exploitèrent le monument. L'un est éclaté, mais l'autre plus complet présente encore la trace et les restes décomposés du lien de cuir qui le fixait à un double manche de bois dont des exemplaires ont été précisément recueillis à proximité immédiate dans le sable (*voir* pl. $X_{,1}$).

La seconde tranche de £. 100.- ayant été épuisée, le chantier fut suspendu le 25 mars.

II.—Campagne du 11 décembre 1963 au 14 janvier 1964.

Les travaux ayant pu être repris le 11 décembre au point où nous les avions laissés en fin mars, le déblaiement ne tarda pas à s'étendre tant vers l'Ouest que vers le Sud.

Au cours de la progression vers l'Ouest, à 1m. 50 environ de la surface du sable, nous recueillerons bientôt trois petits vases en poterie respectivement rouge, rosée et jaunâtre, mesurant l'un 0m. 25 de haut, et les deux autres 0m. 17 et 0m. 16 (*voir* fig. ci-dessous).



Ayant remarqué, d'autre part, l'existence d'une vaste poche de sable située au milieu de la région Nord de la dépression qui semble indiquer une grande cour séparant la pyramide de l'épais massif méridional de l'enceinte, j'en avais fait simultanément entamer le déblaiement. Le sable accumulé là sur plusieurs mètres pouvait, en effet, laisser espérer l'existence de l'entrée d'une descenderie, qui aurait été disposée sur le même axe Nord-Sud que celle de la pyramide, et dirigée vers le massif Sud de l'enceinte. Malheureusement, au bout de 2 m. 50 à 3 m. 50 des couches de "taffle" furent atteintes,

dont certaines constituent des monticules à croûte superficielle extrêmement dure. Il est probable que ce "taffle", assez longuement exposé à l'air libre, avant de se trouver ensablé aura durci sous l'action de l'eau de pluie et de la chaleur solaire. L'un de ces monticules présentant une forme allongée d'Est en Ouest, (*voir* pl. VIII) nous avons effectué un sondage plus à l'Ouest, afin de reconnaître s'il n'aurait pas recouvert l'accès à une descenderie dirigée d'Ouest en Est; nous avons ainsi atteint à près de 2 mètres de profondeur encore du "taffle", mais ce dernier ne présentant plus ici de forme bombée particulière, nous avons interrompu le sondage. D'autre part, en continuant à creuser immédiatement au Nord et au Sud du monticule de "taffle" de forme oblongue dont il vient d'être question, nous avons atteint à 4 m. 50 de profondeur une maçonnerie de calcaire grossier qui mériterait d'être dégagée. Un pareil travail dépassant nettement les moyens mis à notre disposition, nous avons alors décidé de reporter le principal de nos efforts sur le déblaiement en cours du côté Est à l'emplacement supposé de l'entrée de l'enceinte. Seul un petit groupe d'ouvriers fut encore réservé à une tentative de délimitation du massif de l'enceinte vers ce que nous supposons avoir été une vaste cour au Sud de la pyramide, mais cette tentative se montra également vaine devant l'amoncellement considérable de débris de pierre et de "taffle" qu'il conviendrait d'enlever.

Sur la face orientale du complexe, près du mastaba Saïte, de nombreux blocs de calcaire fin provenant manifestement du parement de l'enceinte détruite sont alors apparus, mais toujours non en place. Beaucoup portent des marques de carriers ou de maçons tracées à l'ocre rouge (*voir* Pl. X, 2 à 6). Quant à la maçonnerie grossière du massif en ce point, si elle apparaît encore nettement par place au Nord de la brèche ainsi obtenue, il n'en est pas de même du côté Sud, où ne subsistent au-dessus des fondations que des éboulis de "taffle" et de pierraille recouvrant les blocs de calcaire fin épars susmentionnés. Ce fait nous empêche donc de fixer avec précision l'emplacement de l'entrée, qui, néanmoins semble-t-il, n'aurait guère pu se trouver ailleurs que dans cette vaste brèche.

Les résultats auraient ainsi été assez décevants, si en étendant le dégagement du massif de fondations vers le Sud, nous n'avions atteint une face de parement de ce dernier, orientée d'Est en Ouest (pl. IX). Malheureusement, en poursuivant le déblaiement de ce mur de fondation vers l'Est, nous avons constaté que le nombre de ses assises conservées allait en diminuant, et l'importance des remblais qui recouvrent celles-ci ne nous a pas permis d'atteindre encore l'angle Sud-Est du mur, et de situer ainsi de façon précise l'alignement de la fondation de l'enceinte du côté oriental en ce point. En revanche, nous avons dégagé le parement, à fruit accusé, d'un mur de libages orienté Nord-Sud (pl. IX), au point marqué d'une flèche, qui vient buter perpendiculairement sur le parement de la fondation Est-Ouest. Il s'agit évidemment là du parement occidental du mur épais qui délimitait vers l'Est le massif ajouté au Sud du complexe initial, et dont nous avions trouvé le correspondant du côté Ouest au cours de nos sondages de l'hiver précédent (*voir* plan pl. 1).

Cette découverte est fort importante pour l'histoire du monument; elle démontre, en effet, que les deux états successifs du complexe funéraire de l'Horus Sekhem-khet diffèrent grandement de ce qui avait été admis à la suite des fouilles de Zakaria Goneim.

I.—Dans son premier état la pyramide était, contrairement à ce que l'on avait pensé, exactement centrée au milieu de son enceinte. Cette dernière devait alors mesurer :

(*a*) dans le sens Nord-Sud, en comprenant les murs de fondation, 510 coudées environ, et probablement exactement 500 coudées (= 262 m. env .) à la base du parement même de son mur bastionné en calcaire fin et à redans;

(*b*) dans le sens Est-Ouest, 365 coudées environ, fondations incluses d'après le plan de Zakaria Goneim. Mais des déblaiements complémentaires seraient encore nécessaires pour s'assurer que cette dimension ne résulte pas aussi d'un élargissement du monument initial.

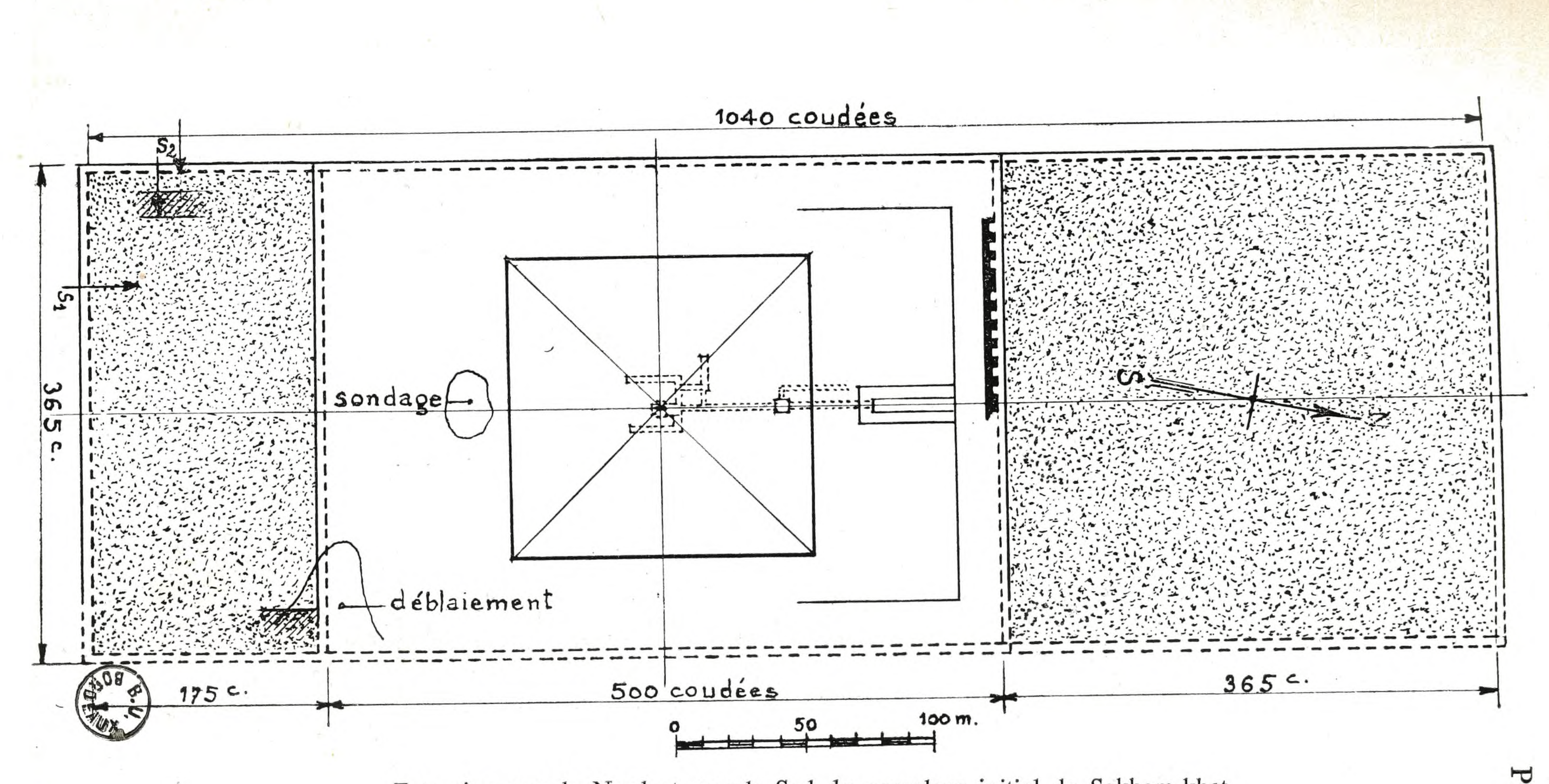
II.—Dans le second état, la longueur du grand côté, c'est-à-dire dans le sens Nord-Sud, aurait été plus que doublée et portée très vraisemblablement à la même dimension que celle de l'enceinte de Zoser, soit à 1040 coudées mesurées à la base du parement à redans. Mais cet accroissement ne fut pas égal dans les deux directions: beaucoup plus important vers le Nord, où il est d'environ 365 coudées, il n'atteint vers le Sud que quelque 175 coudées (*voir* plan pl. I).

Ainsi, grâce à ces sondages, il est maintenant acquis que le curieux désaxement de la pyramide de Sekhem-khet vers le Nord, par rapport à son enceinte initiale, exprimé sur le plan de Zakaria Goneim n'a jamais existé. Ce n'est qu'au cours du second état du complexe que la pyramide se sera trouvée finalement nettement désaxée vers le Sud, par un allongement bien plus grand de son enceinte du côté Nord que du côté Sud.

En ce qui concerne, enfin, la recherche des souterrains présumés sous le massif ajouté au Sud du complexe initial, l'accumulation énorme de "taffle" qui a tout recouvert dans cette région de l'enceinte par suite de l'exploitation systématique des murs, même en simple calcaire local, qui le contenaient, ne permet plus de déceler les emplacements de puits ou de descenderies. Ceux-ci ne pourraient réapparaître que par un déblaiement vraiment complet et méthodique jusqu'au niveau du "guébel" situé là à plusieurs mètres de profondeur, Sekhem-khet ayant fait effectuer des terrassements considérables pour élever la base de son monument et rendre celui-ci visible de Memphis où il voulait, sans doute, qu'il apparût aussi grand que celui du roi Zoser. Ce souci d'égaler son prestigieux prédécesseur se trouve, en effet, une fois de plus mis en évidence par la nouvelle précision qu'ont apportée nos sondages concernant la longueur initiale de son enceinte, qui égale à 500 coudées ne fut pas tout simplement doublée, comme il eût été logique, mais portée à 1040 coudées pour atteindre exactement le même chiffre que celle de Zoser.

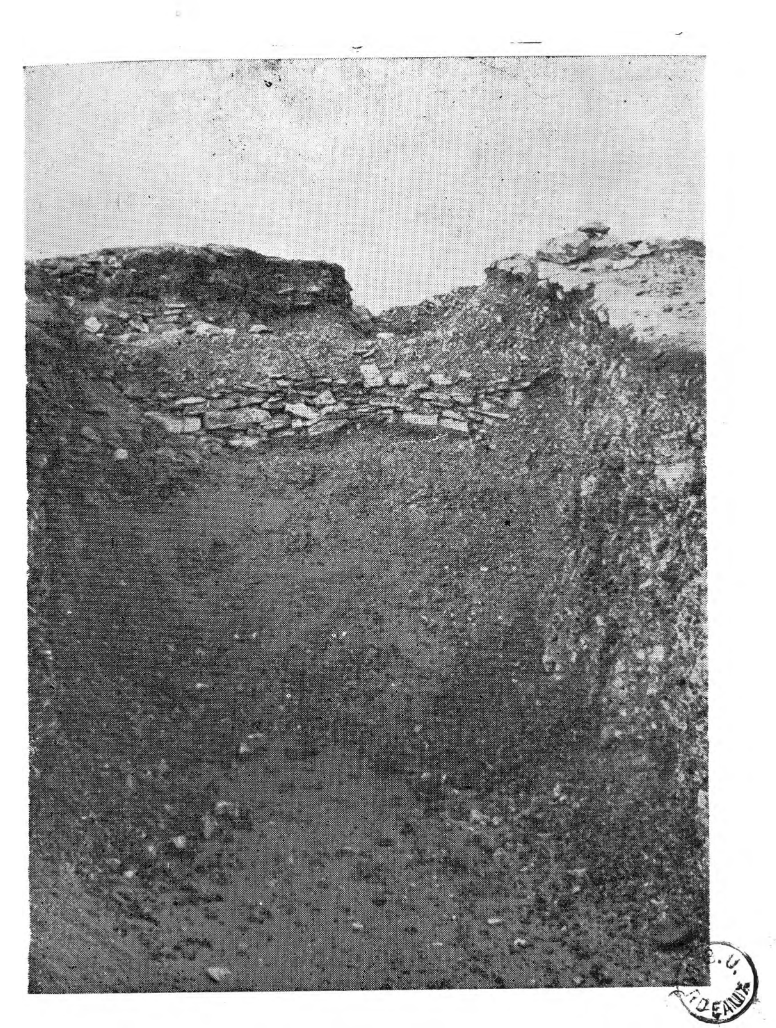
Ceci ne tendrait-il pas à renforcer notre hypothèse de l'existence, dans ce complexe de l'Horus Sekhem-khet, d'un tombeau du Sud comme dans l'enceinte de la Pyramide à degrés, et comme nous en trouverons encore le rappel à la fin de la dynastie à Meïdoum, et au début de la IVème à Dahchour, à la pyramide rhomboïdale de Snefrou? Pour vérifier cette possibilité, de simples sondages s'avèrent malheureusement insuffisants et un déblaiement systématique jusqu'au roc serait nécessaire, exigeant un crédit beaucoup plus important que ceux qui ont pu nous être accordés au cours de ces deux dernières campagnes.

JEAN-PHILIPPE LAUER

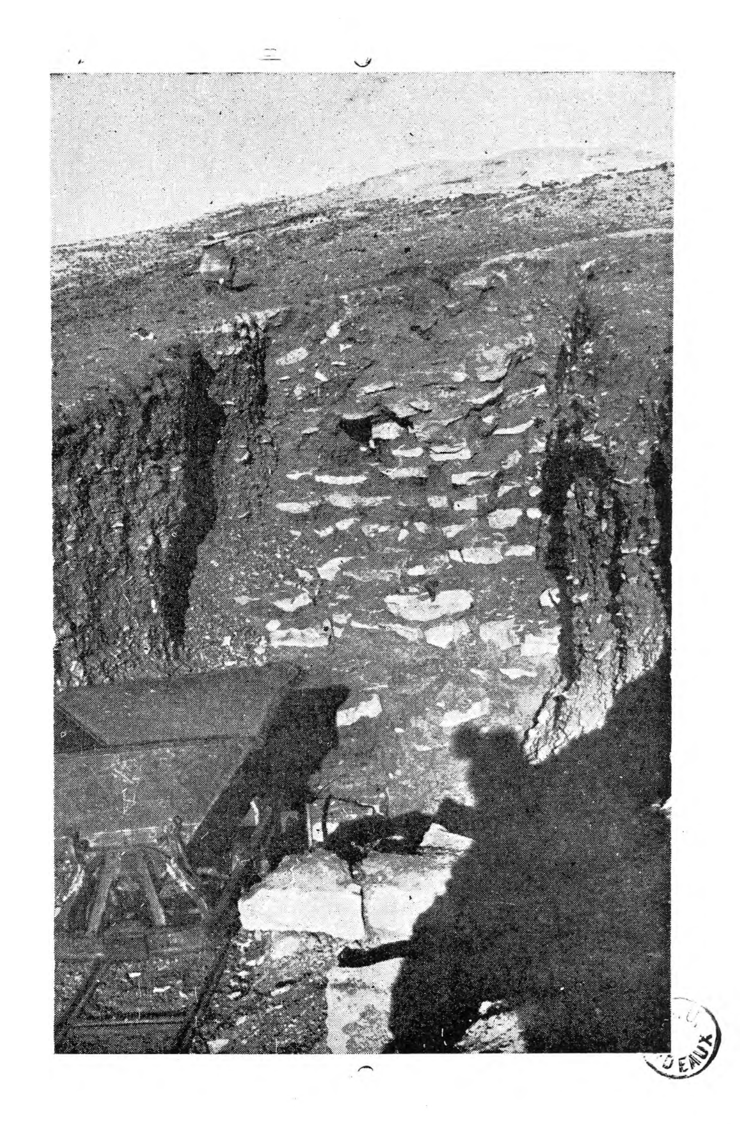


Extension vers le Nord et vers le Sud du complexe initial de Sekhem-khet.

Pl. I



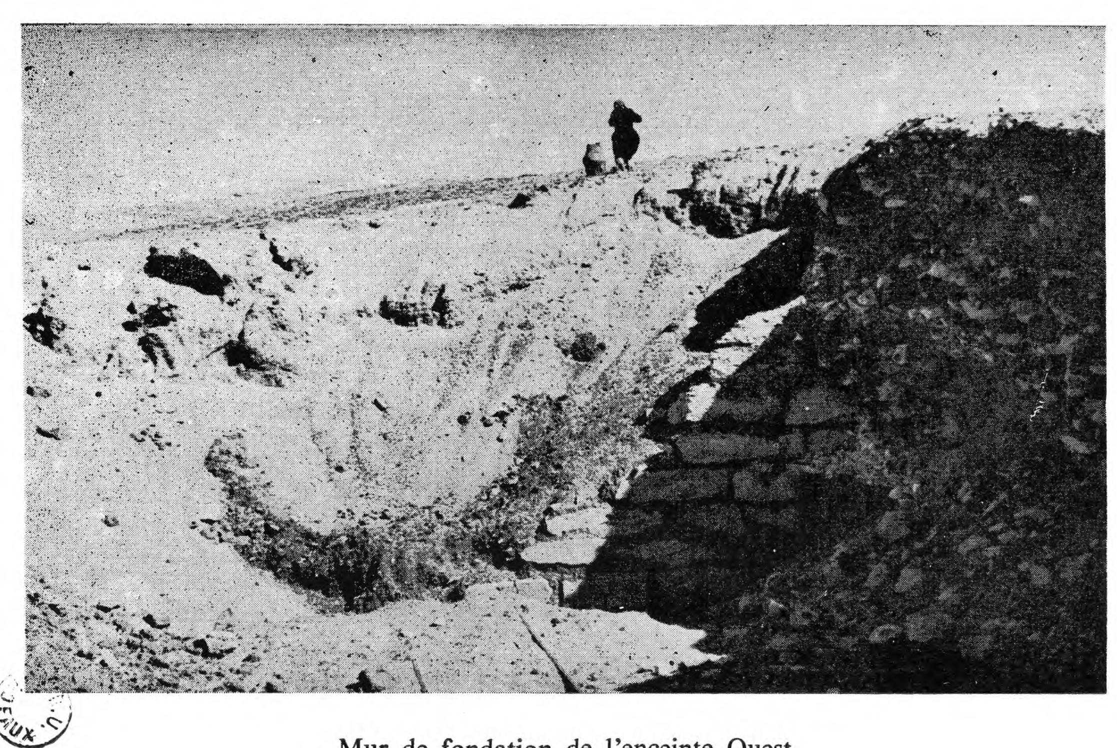
Sondage S_1 : muret de pierres sèches reposant sur le " taffle ".



Sondage S_2 : massif de calcaire local de l'enceinte Ouest.

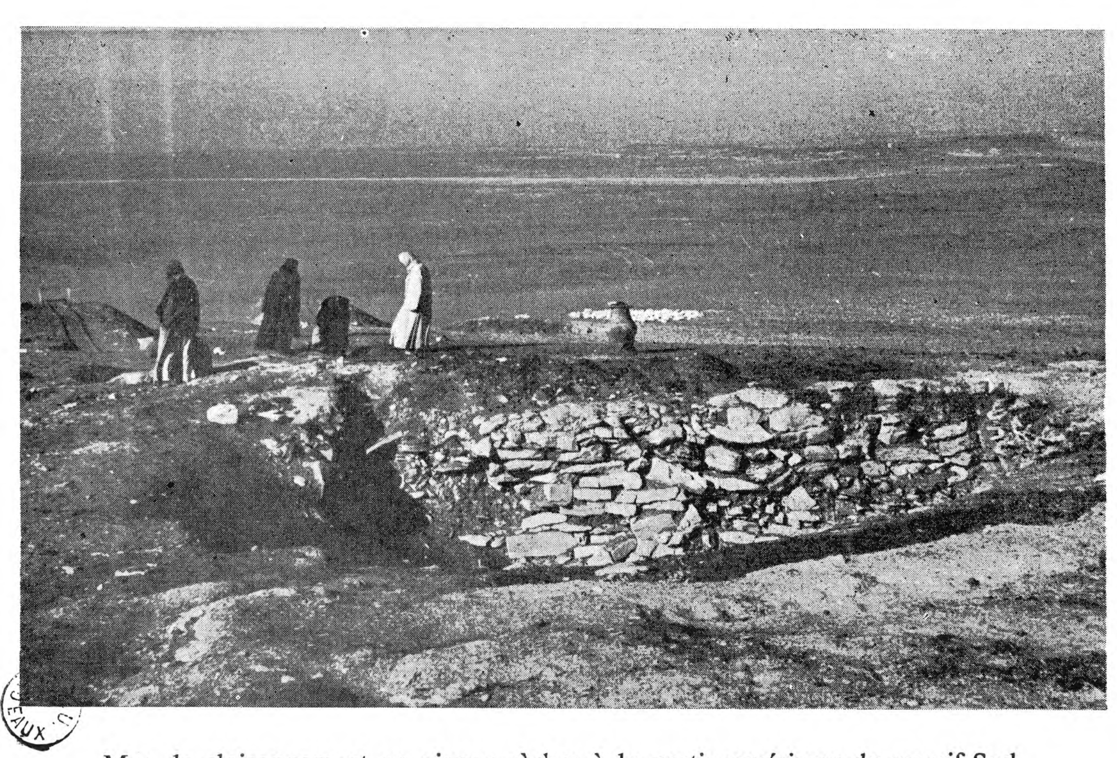


Sondage S_2 : Paroi Est du massif de l'enceinte Ouest.



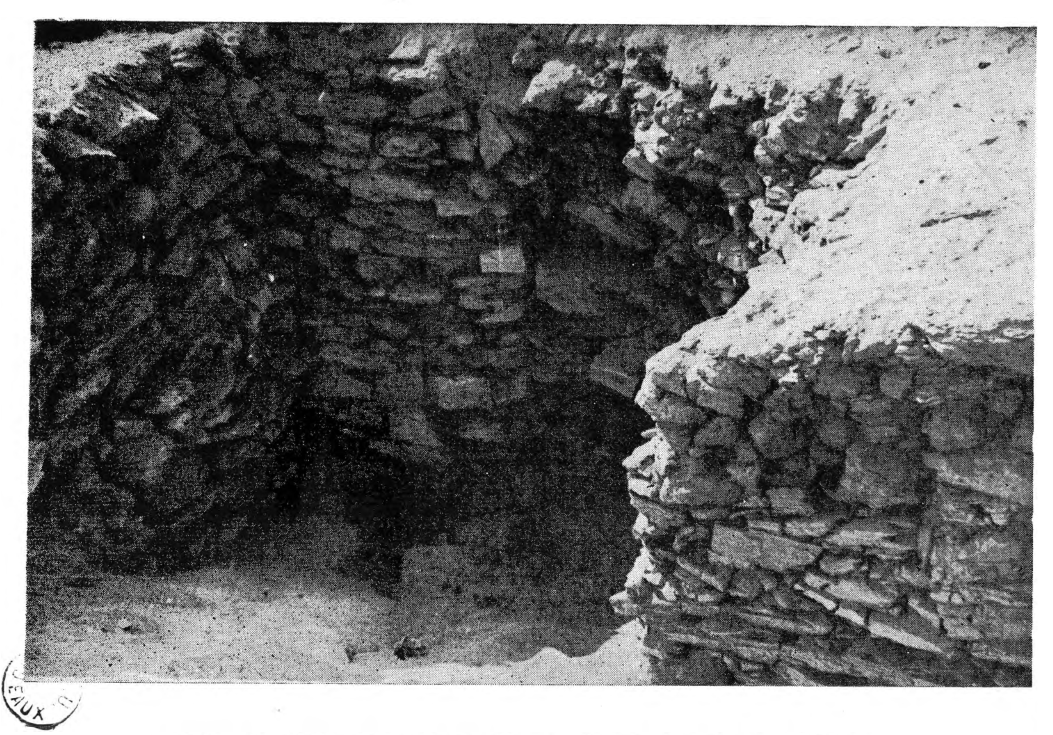
Mur de fondation de l'enceinte Ouest.

Pl. V



Mur de cloisonnement en pierres sèches à la partie supérieure du massif Sud.

PL. VI



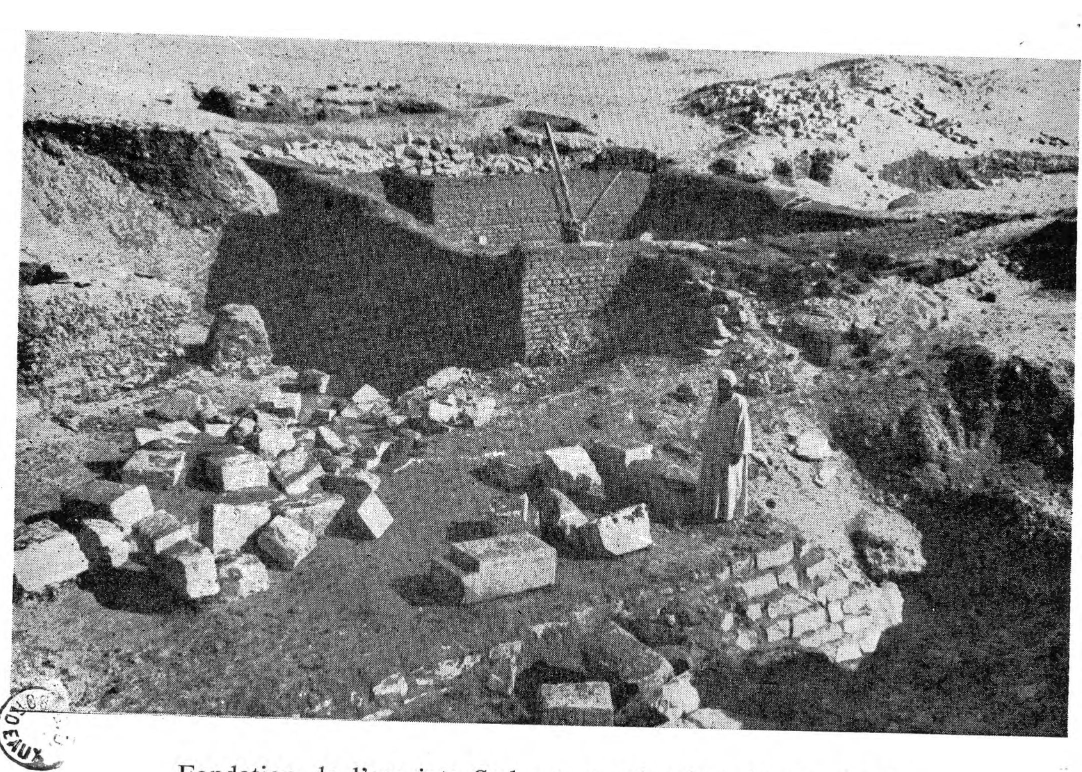
Murs de cloisonnement en pierres sèches dans le massif Sud.

Pl. VII



Sondage à 10 mètres au Sud et dans l'axe de la pyramide,
montrant un curieux bombement de " taffle " durci.

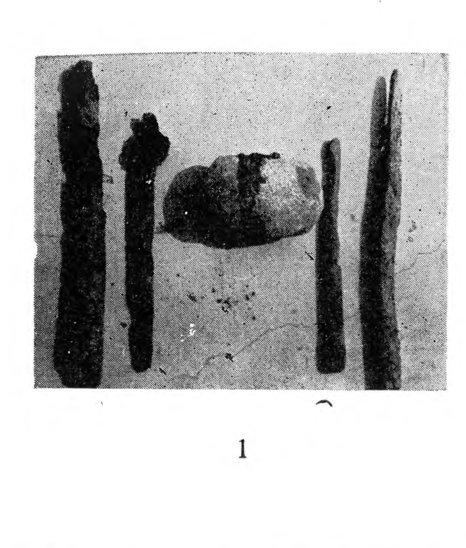
Pl. VIII



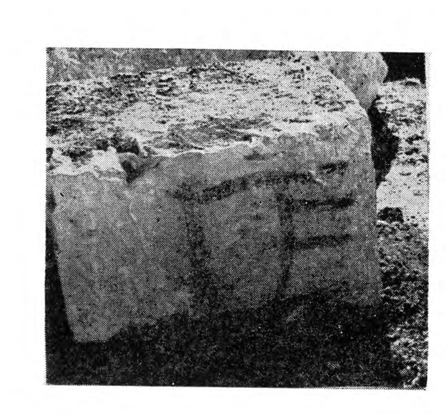
Fondation de l'enceinte Sud, au premier état du complexe,
près de son angle Sud-Est.

Pl. IX

Pl. X



1



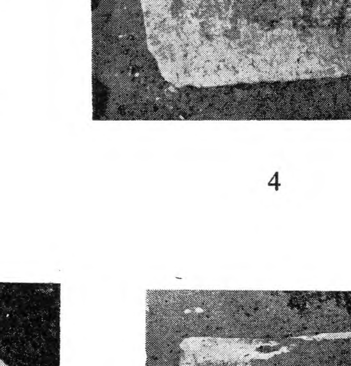
2

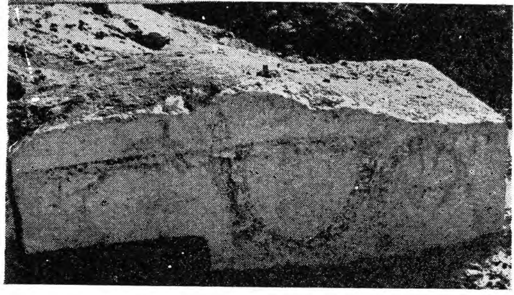


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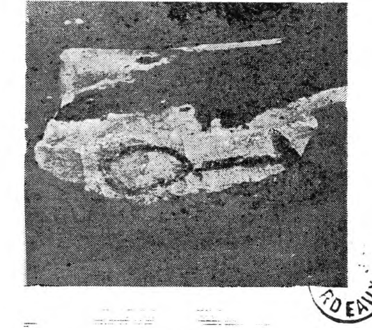


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5



6

LIST OF THE OBJECTS FOUND AT DEIR EL-BAHARI TEMPLE OF THUTMOSIS III SEASON 1961/1962

by

JADWIGA LIPINSKA

During the winter of 1961-1962 the Mission of the Polish Centre of Mediterranean Archaeology directed by Dr. L. Dabrowski, working on the reconstruction of the temple of Hatshepsut on behalf of Service des Antiquités, started to clear certain parts of the temple and its close proximity. These parts were as follows : the whole area of the Central Court on the third terrace, the outer side of its western wall, where a large quantity of debris filled the space between the walls and the cliffs, and the upper part of the southern façade of the temple, still hidden under the debris. As the finds of two former places have already been described by Dr.L. Dabrowski in his Report published in the previous volume of Annales du Service des Antiquités, the present article concerns only the finds obtained as a result of our work upon the clearing of the southern façade of the temple in its westernmost portion.

Though it was thought at first that the clearing of this area would be accomplished within a short time, it was subsequently found that the place yielded a great amount of different finds, among them a certain number of stone blocks originally belonging to the walls of the temple and its Ptolemaic portico. It was therefore decided to excavate thoroughly the whole area, closed from the north by the limits of Hatshepsut's temple, from the

east by the slope with the Hathor Chapel on it, from the south by a rocky landslip sloping down to Mentuhotep's temple, and from the west by the cliffs (Cf. fig. 1—the site of the excavations).

The work was started from the easternmost side of the mound, and it was soon established that this part had been used as a dumping ground by previous excavators, while the central area was filled with debris mixed with bigger stones that had fallen from the cliffs. From this area a large ammount of finds was extracted, such as the pieces of stone blocks from Hatshepsut's temple, fragments of granite statues, small pieces of late cartonnage coffins and painted wooden fragments of sarcophagi, pieces of faience ware, beads, amulets and small ushabtis, a collection of miscellaneous pottery with fine examples of painted Coptic wares, wooden mallets and carved Coptic implements, plundered mummies, wrappings, pieces of reed-work, ropes, etc.

After removing the lowest layer of rubbish from the eastern part of the mound, slabs of a limestone pavement appeared and soon two rows of sandstone bases of columns, running north-south, were discovered. In the first row three bases and one lower portion of a proto-doric column are preserved, in the second row four bases with two remnants of the columns. On each of the three columns hieratic inscriptions were written in black ink (fig. 2-the colonnade and pavement of the newly discovered edifice).

Since this building was discovered towards the end of the season (in April 1962), its clearance and architectural interpretation, plans and sections, were left for the next seasons. The debris in the already explored area yielded an abundance of fragments of the wall blocks, both limestone and sandstone, covered with painted reliefs portraying procession scenes, the king's boats on the Nile and fragments of hieroglyphic inscriptions, a great ammount of fragments of architraves, cornices, ceilings, pieces of columns with hieratic inscriptions written on them, and loosely scattered pieces of statues and votive

stone bowls. We shall publish these in order to give a general idea of the decoration of the edifice as well as important finds found in its proximity, as they represent the highest standard of the artistic values and, especially the reliefs and inscriptions, the particularly good state of preservation of paintings, which appear remarkably fresh.

As no other cartouches except those with names of Tuthmosis III were found among the inscriptions on the wall blocks and architraves, the temple appears to have been founded and decorated by this king. The architectural remnants of the temple show that it was built with the use of two kinds of stone : the pavement was made from local limestone, the bases and the columns as well as the architraves were made of red and yellow sandstone, while the fragments of the walls, cornices and ceilings were both sandstone and limestone. As all these were found mixed and no single course of the wall was found in situ, it is impossible at the moment to judge how these materials were arranged in each part of the temple .

The whole inventory of the finds from this year's work at Deir el-Bahari contains 1137 items, but the following list describes selected objects found in the area of the temple of Tuthmosis III and in the rubbish above it. The inventory does not include several thousands of small stone flakes, being fragments of blocks from walls, architraves, cornices and ceilings : these must await fitting them together. This task will be attempted after a complete clearance of the whole area. As only remnants of the inscriptions were found, unhappily too fragmentary for interpretation, the following catalogue gives only a few examples of inscribed fragments, illustrating their appearance and the kinds of inscriptions.

The presented catalogue exludes hieratic inscriptions from the columns and their fragments : these will be published separately by Mr. Marek Marciniak. Also, the hieratic ostraca are now in the hands of Mrs. Irena Pomorska for publication, and the Coptic ostraca are under preparation by Mr. Stefan Jakobielski.

The following list contains the groups of the finds :

STONE FINDS : I.—Statues and parts of statues.
II.—Stone bowls.
III.—Fragments of reliefs.
IV.—Fragments of inscriptions.
V.—Fragments of ornaments.
VI.—Fragments of architraves.
VII.—Fragments of cornices.
VIII.—Fragments of ceilings.

THE CLAY FINDS.

THE FIAENCE FINDS.

WOODEN IMPLEMENTS.

MISELLANEA.

STONE FINDS

I.—Statues and parts of statues

(1) **Statue of a seated man. / pl. I/.**

Inv. No. 635.

Limestone.

H. 0,68 m.

Found broken in three pieces, now joined together. The face destroyed, the right palm lost.

Votive, cube-shaped statue of a man named being the overseev of works on the House of User-waat-Re Selep-cu-Re auol the chief of police. Against his legs is fitted fine carved head of Hathor in the form of a great sistrum. On its lower part, in the shape of the handle of sistrum, there is an inscription containing the name and title of Hathor. Two cartouches with the names of Rameses II are in the crown of the goddess; two others are placed on each shoulder of the statue. On the right side of the man are 11 vertical columns of hieroglyphic inscription containing the autobiography of the deceased ; on the left side are 10 columns of a prayer to goddess Hathor. (Inscriptions from this and two following statues are in preparation for separate publication.

Time : XIX th Dynasty.

Found : In the temple of Tuthmosis III.

(2) Statue of a kneeling man. / pl.II/.

Inv. No. 636 and 706, joined.

Limestone.

H. 0,75 m.

Found broken in three pieces. The head, shoulders and both arms are lost. The statue is of a kneeling man named [hieroglyphs], being a *Sm* priest. One line of horizontally written hieroglyphic inscription containing the offering formula is placed on the upper surface of the socle in front of the knees and two vertical columns of an inscription of the same character are inscribed on the dorsal pillar of the statue.

Time : XIXth Dynasty.

Found : In the temple of Tuthmosis III.

(3) Double statue. /pl. III, fig. 1/.

Inv. No. 708 and 756, joined.

Limestone.

H. 0,48 m., W. 0.33 m.

Found in seven pieces, still incomplete. Both heads, lower part of the body of right-hand statue, left corner of the panel and its central portion are lost. On the back are several cracks and damages of inscriptions.

Double mummy-shaped figures of a man and a woman are standing against the inscribed panel. The engraved inscriptions were painted in blue, the wigs of both figures and their necklaces being painted black. On the front side are five vertical columns of inscribed offering formulae, written on one of each of wrapped bodies, two on the left and right side of the panel, and one between the figures. The left figure is that of the *Sm* priest named [hieroglyphs], the right-hand figure having lost its name. On the back of the panel are 8 vertical lines of a hieroglyphic inscription.

Time : XIXth Dynasty.

Found : In the temple of Tuthmosis III.

(4) The head of a statue. /pl. III fig. 2/.

Inv. No. 812.

Sandstone.

H. 0.2 m., Diam. 0,16 m.

The head of a statue covered with bitumen on almost the whole surface. The left side of a wig and the lower part of the right-hand side are lost. The surface of the stone under the layer of bitumen shows fine and delicate work.

Found : In the temple of Tuthmosis III.

(5) Fragment of the head of a statue. pl IV. fig. 1/

Inv. No. 736.

Black granite.

H. 0,06 m., W. 0,06 m.

The lower portion of the face, preserved from the chin to the eyeholes. The workmanship is very fine.

Found : In the debris above the temple.

(6) Fragment of a statue. / pl. VI, fig. 2/

Inv. No. 752.

Sandstone.

H. 0,19 m. W. 0,15 m.

The upper part of a female body painted pink and yellow. The head and legs are lost. In the left hand something unrecognizable is held. Found : In the debris above the temple.

(7) Fragment of a statue.

Inv. No. 735.

Black granite.

L. 0,07 m.

Fragment of the shoulder of a statuette.

Found : In the debris above the temple.

(8) Fragment of a statue.

Inv. No. 762.

Limestone.

L. 0,14 m. W. 0,07 m.

One arm of the statue with engraved and blue-painted bracelet with ornament of protective symbols :

Found : In the temple of Tuthmosis III.

(9) Fragment of a statue.

Inv. No. 621.

Black granite.

L. 0,1 m., H. 0,06 m.

Fragment of the fore-arm of a statuette.

Found : In the debris above the temple.

(10) Fragment of a statue.

Inv. No. 622.

Black granite.

H. 0,26 m., L, 0,15 m.

Fragment of a right foot on the socle.

Found : In the debris above the temple.

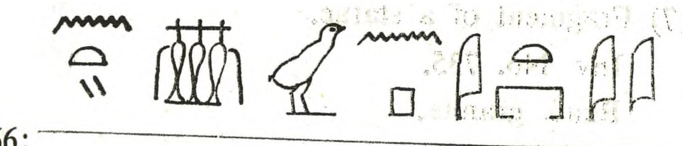
(11) Four fragments of statues.

Inv. Nos. 766, 779, 764, 710.

Black granite.

Four small pieces with hieroglyphic inscriptions :

No. 766:

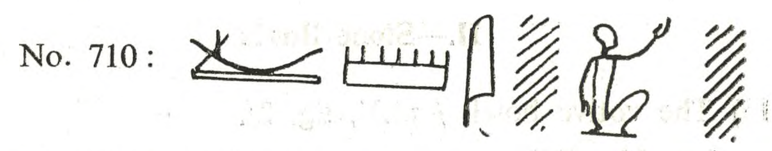




No. 764:

No. 779 :

No. 710 :



Found : In the temple of Tuthmosis III.

(12) Fragment of a statue of sphinx.

Inv. No. 780.

Sandstone.

H. 0,14 m., L. 0,23 m.

Fragment of the body of a sphinx. The head and paws are lost.

Found : In the temple of Tuthmosis III.

(13) Fragment of a statue of sphinx.

Inv. No. 650.

Sandstone.

H. 0,08 m., L. 0,2 m.

Fragment of one paw of the sphinx, probably the same kind as the previous one.

Found : In the temple of Tuthmosis III.

(14) Fragment of anuraeus. / pl. V, fig. 1/.

Inv. No. 746.

Red granite.

H. 0,1 m.

Fragment of the upper part of uraeus. On the front of its body are traces of one vertical column of illegible hieroglyphic inscription.

Found : In the temple of Tuthmosiss III.

II.—Stone Bowls

(15) The votive bowl. / pl.V, fig. 2/.

Inv. No. 761.

Sandstone.

H. 0,18 m. Diam. 0,6 m.

Six pieces separately found, now joined together. On one side of the bowl is a sculptured head of Hathor. One inscription containing the offering formula runs around the edge of the vessel, two vertical columns of inscription on each side of Hathor's head contain the name of the man : and his title : and illegible name of his wife, The Lady of the House. The inscriptions are separated from each other by representations of a kneeling man and woman with their arms raised in adoration.

Found : In the temple of Tuthmosis III.

(16) Two fragments of a bowl.

Inv. No. 783.

Limestone.

H. 0,22 m., L. 0,45 m. and 0,73 m.

Two fragments, fitting together, of a large plain bowl.

Found : In the temple of Tuthmosis III.

(17) Six fragments of bowls.

Inv. Nos. 418, 447, 582, 1029, 1030, 1031.

Limestone.

Fragments of different stone bowls, some of them unfinished.

Found : In the temple of Tuthmosis III.

III.—Fragments of Reliefs

(18) Fragment of a procession. /pl. VI/

Inv. No. 811.

Limestone.

H. 0,45 m., L. 0,28 m.

Fragment of relief representing priests attending a procession. Relief painted red, black and yellow on a white background. Two shaven priests wearing panther-skins are carrying a pole against their necks and shoulders. The bodies of both are clearly represented, while the head of the second one is veiled behind. On the left side of a pole are two kneeling figures of gods with jackal-heads support the barque.

Found : In the temple of Tuthmosis III.

(19) Two fragments of a procession. /pl. VII, fig. 1,2/

Inv. No. 822.

Limestone.

H. 0,15 m. and 0, 07 m., L. 0, 19 m. and 0,13 m.

Two fragments of a relief painted yellow, red and black on a white background, representing shaven priests bearing a pole against their necks.

Found : In the temple of Tuthmosis III.

(20) Two fragments fitting together of a procession. pl. VII. fig. 3/.

Inv. No 822.

Limestone.

H. 0,15 m., L. 0,2 m.

Fragment of a procession, painted yellow, red and blue on a white background, representing the standards carried in the procession.

Found : In the temple of Tuthmosis III.

(21) Fragment of a procession. / pl. VIII, fig. 1/.

Inv. No. 842.

Limestone.

H. 0,9 m., L. 0,2 m.

Fragment of a figure of the god, painted yellow, red and black on a white background.

Found : In the temple of Tuthmosis III.

(22) Fragment of a procession. / pl. VIII, fig. 2/.

Inv. No. 818.

Limestone.

H. 0,14 m., L. 0,09 m.

Fragment of a figure of kneeling deity painted yellow, red and blue on a white background.

Found : In the temple of Tuthmosis III.

(23) Fragment of a procession. / pl. VIII, fig. 3/.

Inv. No. 780.

Limestone.

H. 0,19 m., L. 0,1 m.

Fragment of the decoration of a shrine, painted yellow and red on a white background.

Found : In the temple of Tuthmosis III.

(24) 111 small fragments of a procession.

Inv. Nos. 589, 707, 780, 818, 822, 841 854, 946.

Limestone.

H. up to 0,22 m.

Fragments of a procession scene, painted yellow, red and sometimes blue on a white background, representing pieces of poles, shrines and priests.

Found : In the temple of Tuthmosis III.

(25) Eight fragments of the representation of a boat, joined together. (pl. VIII, fig. 4, and the upper part of it before joining-pl.IX, fig. 1).

Inv. Nos. 707, 753.

Limestone.

H. 0,69 m., L. 0,73 m.

Fragment of a wall-block with relief painted as follows : blue-the water ; green - the boat ; black - the waves and the ornament on the upper part of the boat ; brown - the rowers ; green, red, white, yellow - the ornaments of the boat.

The fragment represents a portion of the boat with rowing boatmen.

Found : In the temple of Tuthmosis III.

(26) Fragment of a boat./ pl. IX, fig. 2/.

Inv. No. 637.

Sandstone.

H. 0,34 m., L. 0,7 m.

Fragment of the forepart of the boat with rowing boatmen, painted in the same way as the previous one-Cat. no. 25. On the body of the boat is painted an emblem representing the king's sphinx trampling upon the figures of his victims. In front of the sphinx is a painted cartouche with the name *Mn-ḫpr-Rʿ*; above the sphinx is represented the flying Horus-falcon and the scarab with outstretched wings. The second emblem has lost its main part, and only a figure of the kneeling man caught by the hair is preserved.

Found : In the temple of Tuthmosis III.

(27) Fragment of a boat (pl X, fig. 1).

Inv. No. 770.

Limestone.

H. 0,33 m., L. 0,21 m.

Fragment of the forepart of a boat, painted as Cat. No. 25 ; on the body of a boat are remains of an emblem.

Found : In the temple of Tuthmosis III.

(28) Fragment of a boat. / pl.X, fig. 2/.

Inv. No 633.

Limestone.

H. 0,11 m., L. 0,035 m.

Fragment of the painted emblem of the king's boat, representing a sphinx, partially preserved, trampling upon the small figure of a victim. In front of the face of the sphinx is painted a cartouche with the name *Mn-ḫpr-Rʿ*.

Found : In the temple of Tuthmosis III.

(29) Three fragments of boats.

Inv. No. 719 - two pieces, and 739.

Limestone.

H. 0,04 m., 0,08 m., 0,1 m., L. 0,04 m., 0,04 m., 0,07 m. Three badly preserved pieces of emblems from the king's boats, painted as in Cat. No 25.

Found : In the temple of Tuthmosis III.

(30) Fragment of a boat (pl. XI).

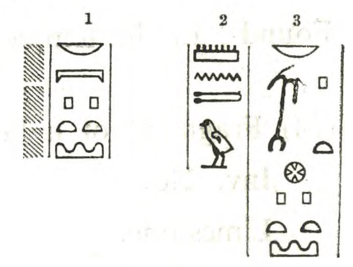
Inv. No 797.

Limestone.

H. 0,22 m., L,0,53 m.

Fragment of a boat painted as Cat. No. 25, with a hieroglyphic inscription painted in black ink on the ship's side. One horizontal line of the inscription is written on the red border of the boat :

Below are three vertical columns :



Found : In the temple of Tuthmosis III.

(31) Fragment of a boat. (pl. XII, fig. 1).

Inv. No. 757.

Sandstone.

H. 0,12 m., L. 0,31 m.

Piece with the upper parts of boatmen, painted as in Cat. No 25.

Found : In the temple of Thutmosis III.

(32) Fragment of a boat (pl. XII, fig. 2).

Inv. No. 647,

Sandstone.

H. 0,09 m., L. 0,28 m.

Piece with the upper parts of the boatmen, painted as in Cat. No. 25.

Found : In the temple of Tuthmosis III.

(33) Fragment of a boat (pl. XIII, fig. 1).

Inv. No. 757.

Limestone.

H. 0,16 m., L. 0,41 m.

Piece with fragments of boatmen painted as in Cat. No. 25.

Found : In the temple of Tuthmosis III.

(34) Fragment of a boat (pl. XIII, fig. 2)

Inv. No. 631.

Limestone.

H. 0,24 m., L. 0,39 m.

Piece with fragments of boatmen, painted as in Cat. No. 25.

Found : In the temple of Tuthmosis III.

(35) Fragment of a boat (pl. XIV).

Inv. No 331.

Limestone.

H. 0,9 m., L. 0,22 m.

Fragment of a boat on water, painted as in Cat. No. 25. Below is part of a flying falcon.

Found : In the temple of Tuthmosis III.

(36) Fragment of a boat (pl. XV, fig. 1).

Inv. No. 333.

Limestone.

H. 0,44 m., L. 0,49 m.

Fragment of the stern of a boat, painted brown, yellow, green and red on a white background.

Found : In the temple of Tuthmosis III.

(37) Fragment of a boat (pl. XV, fig. 2).

Inv. No. 73.

Sandstone.

H. 0,14 m., L. 0,22 m.

Fragment of the middle part of a boat with the masts and the fan painted yellow, green, red and brown on a white background.

Found : In the debris above the temple.

(38) Fragment of a boat (pl. XVI, fig. 1).

Inv. No. 850.

Sandstone.

H. 0,12 m., L. 0,24 m.

Fragment of the middle part of a boat with part of a mast and the fan, painted yellow, red, green and brown on a white background.

Found : In the temple of Tuthmosis III.

(39) Fragments of boats.

Inv. Nos. 474, 648, 649, 711, 713, 714, 716, 719, 737, 765, 809, 923, 929, 977, 979.

Sandstone.

Small fragments of representations of boats, mainly pieces of water painted black-blue.

Found : In the temple of Tuthmosis III.

(40) Fragments of boats.

Inv. Nos. 332, 713, 721, 740, 750, 751, 755, 758, 781-two pieces, 806, 809 810, 924, 925, 926, 927, 948, 951, 952.

Limestone.

Small fragments of representations of boats, mainly pieces of water painted black-blue.

Found : In the temple of Tuthmosis III.

(41) Fragment of a shrine (pl. XVI, fig. 2).

Inv. No. 841.

Limestone.

H. 0,65 m., L. 0,36 m.

Fragment of a relief and inscription, painted blue, yellow, brown and red on a white back- ground. On the preserved part of a shrine is painted the head of the king, above it the cartouche with the name *Mn-ḫpr-Rʿ*.

Found : In the temple of Tuthmosis III.

(42) Fragment of a head (pl. XVII, fig. 1).

Inv. No. 772.

Limestone.

H. 0,21 m., L. 0,22 pm.

Fragment of a relief painted brown, black, blue and yellow on a white background with part of the head of the king wearing the crown with uraeus. On the background are traces of an illegible hieratic inscription written in black ink.

Found : In the temple of Tuthmosis III.

(43) Fragment of a head (pl. XVII, fig. 2).

Inv. No. 825.

Limestone.

H. 0,2 m., L. 0,16 m.

Part of the bearded head of a god. In the upper part are two signs of a hieroglyphic inscription.

Found : In the temple of Tuthmosis III.

(44) Fragment of the body of a king. (pl. XVIII, fig. 1).

Inv. No. 947.

Limestone.

Fragment of a relief painted brown, blue, yellow and green on a white background, representing the upper part of a body, with one hand presenting a ball-shaped vase as an offering. The head is lost, but the lower parts of the beard and the blue-striped headdress are preserved, as are a richly ornamented wsḫ collar and a bracelet.

Found : In the temple of Tuthmosis III.

(45) 19 fragments of the collars wsḫ.

Inv. Nos. 334, 629, 640 646, 707, 712, 715 - two pieces, 717, 718 720, 721 - two pieces, 745, 748, 774, 960, 977.

Limestone.

Small pieces of a relief painted green, brown, red, white, yellow and blue, being parts of wsḫ collars

Found : In the temple of Tuthmosis III.

(46) Fragment of a representation with a figure. (pl. XVIII, fig. 2).

Inv. No 499.

Limestone.

H. 0,45 m., L. 0,07 m.

Fragment of a relief painted yellow, red, blue. and brown on a white background, with part of an arm wearing a bracelet, and a fragment of the king's dress.

Found : In the temple of Tuthmosis III.

(47) Fragment of a human figure (pl. XIX, fig. 1).

Inv. No. 824.

Limestone.

H. 0, 15 m., L. 0, 09 m.

Fragment of the upper part of the body of a man holding a ḥs vase in his right hand; probably the figure of an attendant to the procession.

Found : In the temple of Tuthmosis III.

(48) Fragment of a figure (pl. XIX, fig. 2).

Inv. No. 932.

Sandstone.

H. 0, 14 m., L. 0, 14 m.

In the upper register is a fragment of the lower part of a figure in a long robe ; in the lower register are a woman's head and a fragment of an illegible inscription.

Found : In the temple of Tuthmosis III.

(49) Thirteen fragments of reliefs representing human bodies.

Inv. Nos. 616, 634, 717, 722, 758, 767, 824, 826. 833, 973, 974, 976, 977.

Limestone and sandstone.

Small fragments with portions of representations of human figures.

Found : In the temple of Tuthmosis III.

(50) Fragment of a representation of offerings (pl. XX, fig. 1).

Inv. No. 833.

Limestone.

H. 0,12 m., L. 0,28 m.

Fragment of a representation of offerings, the relief painted yellow blue, red and brown on a white background. The fragment shows a portion of a basket with figs and grapes.

Found : In the temple of Tuthmosis III.

(51) Fragment of offerings (pl. XX, fig. 2).

Inv. No. 971.

Sandstone.

H. 0,29 m., L. 0,18 m.

A stand with offerings is in the lower portion of the relief, while in the upper is Hathor-the cow with the sun-disc wearing the menat collar appearing from behind a hill.

Found : In the temple of Tuthmosis III.

(52) Fragment of offerings..

Inv. No. 839,

Limestone.

H. 0,15 m. L. 0,16 m.

Fragment of a relief painted yellow, red brown, blue and green on a white background, represen- ting a portion of the body of a dead goose.

Found : In the temple of Tuthmosis III.

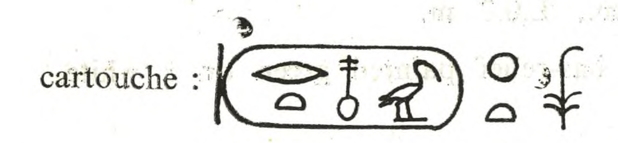
(53) Fragment of a relief and inscription (pl. XXI, fig. 1).

Inv. No. 83.

Sandstone.

H. 0,25 m., L. 0,51 m.

Fragment of a relief of the queen's figure, the head only being preserved. In the upper part is the

cartouche : 

Found : In the debris above the temple.

IV.—Fragments of Inscriptions

(54) Fragment of an inscription. / pl. XXI, fig. 2/.

Inv. No. 824.

Limestone.

H. 0,3 m.,L. 0, 21 m.

The inscription in bas-relief is painted with remarkable care in red, green, yellow, black and blue on a white background. This piece is the best example of the style, represented also by a great amount of small stone flakes with fragments of hieroglyphs.

Found : In the temple of Tuthmosis III.

(55) Fragment of an inscription (pl. XXII, fig. 1).

Inv. No. 949.

Limestone.

H. 0,42 m., L. 0, 84 m.

Inscription in bas-relief painted yellow,green, blue and red on a white background.

Found : In the temple of Tuthmosis III.

(56) Fragment of an inscription (pl. XXII, fig. 2).

Inv. No. 445.

Limestone.

H. 0,51 m., L,0,7 m.

Inscription in bas-relief painted green on a white background.

Found : In the temple of Tuthmosis III.

(57) Fragment of an inscription (pl. XXIII, fig. 1).

Inv. No. 381.

Limestone.

(58) Fragment of an inscription (pl. XXIII, fig. 2).

Inv. No· 458.

Limestone.

H. 0,75 m.,L 0,9 m.

Fragment of a relief : the leg of a figure and the inscription are painted brown, yellow, blue and green on a white backround.

(59) Fragment of an inscription (pl. XXIV, fig. 1).

Inv. No. 953.

Sandstone.

H. 0,4 m., L.0,75 m.

Fragment of three vertical columns of an inscription in bas-relief painted reddish-pink, green, blue and yellow on a white background.

(60) Fragment of an inscription (pl. XXIV, fig. 2).

Inv. No. 789.

Limestone.

H. 0,25 m., L. 0,25 m.

Fragment of two vertical columns of inscription in bas-relief, painted blue and yellow on a white background.

(61) Fragment of an inscription (pl. XXV, fig. 1).

Inv. No. 830.

Limestone.

H. 0,17 m., L. 0,26 m.

Fragment of two cartouches of Tuthmosis III painted yellow in blue frames : The signs are painted blue, red, green, white, and black.

Found : In the temple of Thutmosis III.

(62) Fragment of an inscription (pl. XXV, fig. 2). (There is no oucle figure, there is unisfahen pl. XV *bis* should be XXV *bis*.

Inv. No. 834.

Limestone.

H. 0,21 m., L. 0,28 m.

Fragment of three vertical columns of inscription painted blue, yellow, and red on a white background.

(63) Fragment of an inscription (pl. XXVI, fig. 1).

Inv. No. 858.

Limestone.

H. 0,16 m., L. 0,28 m.

Fragment of an inscription painted blue, yellow and red on a white background. The inscription is destroyed, only the upper part of a cartouche with a part of the name of Tuthmosis III boing preserved.

Found : In the temple of Tuthmosis III.

(64) Fragment of a cartouche (pl. XXVI, fig. 2).

Inv. No. 631.

Limestone.

H. 0,10 m., L. 0,19 m.

Fragment of a cartouche painted yellow with blue frame : a green sign 𓋹 and black sign 𓆣 are preserved.

Found : In the temple of Tuthmosis III.

(65) 24 fragments of cartouches, with the parts of the names of Tuthmosis III.

Limestone.

The sign ○ painted red on a yellow background.

Inv. No. 897, 911.

The sign 𓏠 painted blue on a yellow background.

Inv. No. 900, 912,

The sign 𓆣 painted black on a white background.

Inv. Nos. 75,836, 837 863, 864, 877, 895, 898, 930, 933.

The sign 𓅱 painted white and black on a yellow background.

Inv. No. 956.

The sign 𓋹 painted green on a yellow background.

Inv. No. 860, 941, 955.

The signs ○ 𓏠 (painted as described above.)
Inv. No. 861, 934,

The signs ⟨hieroglyphs⟩ (painted as described above.)
Inv. Nos. 855, 876, 921 - the last one of sandstone.

The signs ⟨hieroglyphs⟩ Inv. No 628.

Found : In the temple of Tuthmosis III,

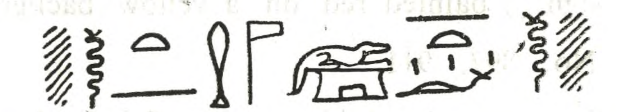
(66) Fragment of an inscription,

Inv. No. 620,

Black granite,

H. 0,03 m., L. 0,06 m.

Irregular piece with one horizontal line of inscription :



Found : In the temple of Tuthmosis III.

(67) Fragment of an inscription,

Inv. No. 759.

Black granite.

H. 0, 05 m., L. 0, 8 m.

Irregular piece with one horizontal line of inscription :



Found : In the temple of Tuthmosis III.

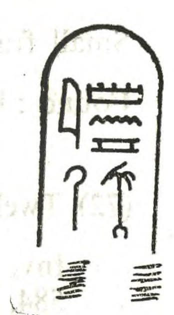
(68) Fragment of an inscription,

Inv. No. 618,

Black granite.

H. 0,12 m., L. 0,15 m.

Fragment of a rectangular piece with two sides inscribed : On one side is a vertical column of an illegible hieroglyphic inscription, on the other side a fragment of a cartouche :



Found : In the temple of Tuthmosis III.

V.—Fragments of Ornaments

(69) Fragment of a *kheker* ornament (pl .XXVII, fig. 1).

Inv. No. 142.

Limestone.

H. 0,28 m., L, 0,63 m.

Small fragment of a *kheker* ornament, carved and painted blue red and white.

Found : In the debris above the temple.

(70) Fragment of a *kheker* ornament (pl. XXVII, fig. 2).

Inv. No. 83.

Limestone.

H. 0,27 m., L. 0,74 m.

Fragment of a *kheker* ornament carved and painted blue and white.

Found : In the debris above the temple.

(71) Two fragments of a *kheker* ornament.

Inv. No. 514, 542,

Sandstone.

Small fragment painted blue, white, red and green.

Found : In the temple of Tuthmosis III.

(72) Twelve fragments of *khker* ornaments.

Inv. Nos. 354, 363, 364, 366, 529, 550, 580, 584, 590, 593, 1004, 1113.

Limestone.

Small fragments of *kheker* ornaments painted white, blue, green and red.

Found : In the temple of Tuthmosis III.

(73) Four fragments of *kheker* ornaments.

Inv. Nos. 51, 81, 83, 91.

Limestone.

Small fragments of *kheker* ornaments painted blue, red, green and white.

Found : In the debris above the temple.

(74) Six fragments of geometrical ornaments.

Inv. Nos. 549, 573, 581, 1014, 1028, 1114.

Limestone.

Fragments of geometrical ornaments painted black, yellow, blue and red.

Found : In the temple of Tuthmosis III.

VI.—Fragments of Architraves

(75) Fragment of an architrave.

Inv. No. 335.

Red sandstone.

H. 0,28 m., L. 1,14 m., W. 0,87 m.

The architrave has two sides inscribed and painted. The background was painted white, the the cartouche and hieroghlyphs blue, the background of the cartouche yellow.

Inscription on one side :

on the other side : 

Found : In the temple of Tuthmosis III.

(76) Fragment of an architrave.

Inv. No. 336.

Red sandstone.

H. 0,3 m., L. 1,45 m., W. 0,87 m.

The architrave is inscribed on both sides. The Inscription on one side's illegible being preserved only in its uppermost portion, on the other side are partially preserved signs of an inscription painted green, yellow, red and blue on a white background.

Preserved portion of inscription :

Found : In the temple of Tuthmosis III.

(77) Fragment of an architrave./pl.XXVII, Fig. 3.

Inv. No. 1037.

Sandstone.

H. 0,10 m., L. 0,35 m.

Fragment of an architrave with the head of the sign painted yellow, black and whitte.

Found : In the temple of Tuthmosis III.

(78) Twenty-four fragments of architraves.

Inv. Nos. 57, 61, 62, 76, 80, 87, 97, 98, 99, 100, 102, 103, 105, 107, 108, 110, 275, 303, 328, 550. 360, 401, 404, 465.

Sandstone.

Small fragments of architraves with portions of hieroglyphic signs.

Found : In the debris above the temple.

(79) Thirty fragments of architraves.

Inv. Nos. 409, 423, 425, 449, 451, 452, 456, 465, 471, 495, 497, 500, 501, 505, 511, 523, 526, 532, 546, 557, 559, 565, 568, 578, 585, 587, 594, 595, 1020, 1026.

Sandstone.

Small fragments of architraves with portions of hieroglyphic signs.

Found : In the temple of Tuthmosis III.

VII.—Fragments of Cornices

(80) Fragment of a cavetto cornice (pl. XXVIII, fig. 1)

Inv. No. 854.

Sandstone.

H. 0,25 m., L. 0,42 m.

Fragment of a cavetto cornice painted black, blue, green, red and white.

Found : In the temple of Tuthmosis III.

(81) Fragment of a cavetto cornice (pl. XXVIII, fig. 2).

Inv. No. 845.

Sandstone.

H. 0,22 m., L. 0,28 m.

Fragment of a cornice painted black, green, blue and red.

Found : In the temple of Tuthmosis III.

(82) Ten fragments of cavetto cornices.

Inv. Nos. 49, 60, 93, 165, 177, 190, 230, 235, 327, 338.

Limestone.

Fragments of cornices with traces of red, blue and yellow paint.

Found : In the debris above the temple.

(83) Nine fragments of cavetto cornices.

Inv. Nos. 371, 372, 374, 476, 517, 591, 592, 596, 599.

Limestone.

Fragments of cornices with traces of red, blue and yellow paint.

Found : In the temple of Tuthmosis III.

(84) Fourteen fragments of cavetto cornices.

Inv. Nos. 374, 379, 436, 493, 496, 506, 512, 540, 937, 938, 939, 940, 1000, 1001.

Sandstone.

Dragments of cavetto cornices painted white, black, red, green and blue.

Found : In the temple of Tuthmosis III.

(85) Two fragments of torus cornices.

Inv. Nos. 461, 1006.

Limestone.

Small fragments of rolls with traces of carved ornament.

Found : In the temple of Tuthmosis III.

(86) Two fragments of torus cornices.

Inv. Nos. 440,510.

Sandstone.

Small fragments of rolls with traces of white paint.

Found : In the temple of Tuthmosis III.

VIII.—Fragments of Ceilings

(87) Fourteen fragments of coilings.

Inv. Nos. 34, 35, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 53, 115, 116, 249.

Limestone.

Small fragments of ceilings painted blue with yellow stars.

Found : In the debris above the temple

(88) Five fragments of ceilings.

Inv. Nos. 410, 411, 453, 454, 1007.

Limestone.

Small fragments of ceilings painted blue with yellow stars.

Found : In the temple of Tuhtmosis III.

(89) Twenty-four fragments of ceilings.

Inv. Nos. 347, 348, 351, 358, 365, 411, 428, 433, 435, 437, 450, 492, 503, 508, 513, 533, 534, 537, 538, 547, 560, 563, 564, 566.

Sandstohe.

Fragments of ceilings painted blue with yellow stars.

Found : In the temple of Tuthmosis III.

CLAY FINDS

(90) Vessel (pl. XXIX, fig. 1).

Inv. No. 105,

H. 0,13 m., Diam. 0,10 m.

Small jug with a rope knotted on its neck.

Coptic

Found : In the debris above the temple,

(91) Vessel (pl. XXIX, fig. 2).

Inv. No. 655,

H. 0,47 m.

Lower part of a Coptic amphora.

Found : In the debris above the temple.

(92) Vessel (pl. XXIX, fig. 3).

Inv. No. 656,

H. 0,3 m.

Amphora with the neck lost.

Coptic,

Found : In the debris above the temple,

(93) Nine potsherds.

Inv. Nos. 646, 652, 653, 662, 723, 725, 726, 727. 728.

Fragments of Coptic painted wares.

Found : In the debris above the temple.

(94) Two jar-sealings.

Inv. No. 731.

Two mud jar-sealings with Coptic inscriptions.

Found : In the debris above the temple.

(95) Three funeral cones (pl. XXX fig. 1,2,3,).

Inv. Nos. 659, 724, 730.

Three cones badly preserved, with illegible inscriptions.

Found : In the debris above the temple.

FAIENCE FINDS

(96) Fragment of a bowl.

Inv. No. 754.

Blue glazed faience,

H. 0,14 m., L. 0,16 m.

Found : In the debris above the temple.

(97) Thirteen fragments of different vessels.

Inv. Nos. 626, 981.

Blue-glazed faience, black ornamented.

Found : In the debris above the temple.

(98) Thirteen fragments of ushabtis.

Inv. No. 741.

Blue glazed faience.

H. 0,04 m. - 0,02 m.

Small fragments of uninscribed ushabtis.

Found : In the debris above the temple,

(99) Twenty - five beads.

Inv. No. 980,

Blue-glazed faience,

Small beads and broken portions of beads.

Found : In the debris above the temple.

WOODEN IMPLEMENTS

(100) Ornamented fragment (pl. XXX, fig. 4).

Inv. No. 679.

H. 0.04 m., L. 0,15 m.

Fragment of furniture decoration.

Coptic.

Found : In the debris above the temple.

(101) Ornamented fragment (pl. XXXI, fig. 1).

Inv. No. 678.

H. 0,4 p., L. 0,2 m.

Fragment of furniture decoration.

Coptic.

Found : In the debris above the temple.

(102) Four mallets and one fragment of a mallet.

Inv. Nos. 663, 664, 665, 768, 769.

Four well preserved wooden mallets and a portion of another.

Found : In the debris above the temple.

(103) Fragments of coffins.

Inv. Nos. 601, 667, 668, 669 ,670, 672, 673, 675, 671, 686, 688, 695, 697, 698, 699, 701, 702.

Fragments of late coffins painted yellow, black, red and green. The inscriptions too fragmentary preserved for interpretation.

Found : In the debris above the temple.

MISCELLANEA

(104) Fifteen cartonnage fragments (pl.XXXI, fig.2).

Inv. No. 680.

Fragments of different cartonnage cases painted yellow, black and red.

Found : In the debris above the temple.

(105) A pair of sandals (pl. XXXI, fig. 3.).

Inv. No. 760.

Fragments of a pair of sandals, reed-work.

Found : In the debris above the temple.

(106) Headless mummy.

Found in the debris above the temple.

(107) Hand of the mummy of a child.

Found : In the debris above the temple.

Jadwiga Lipinska

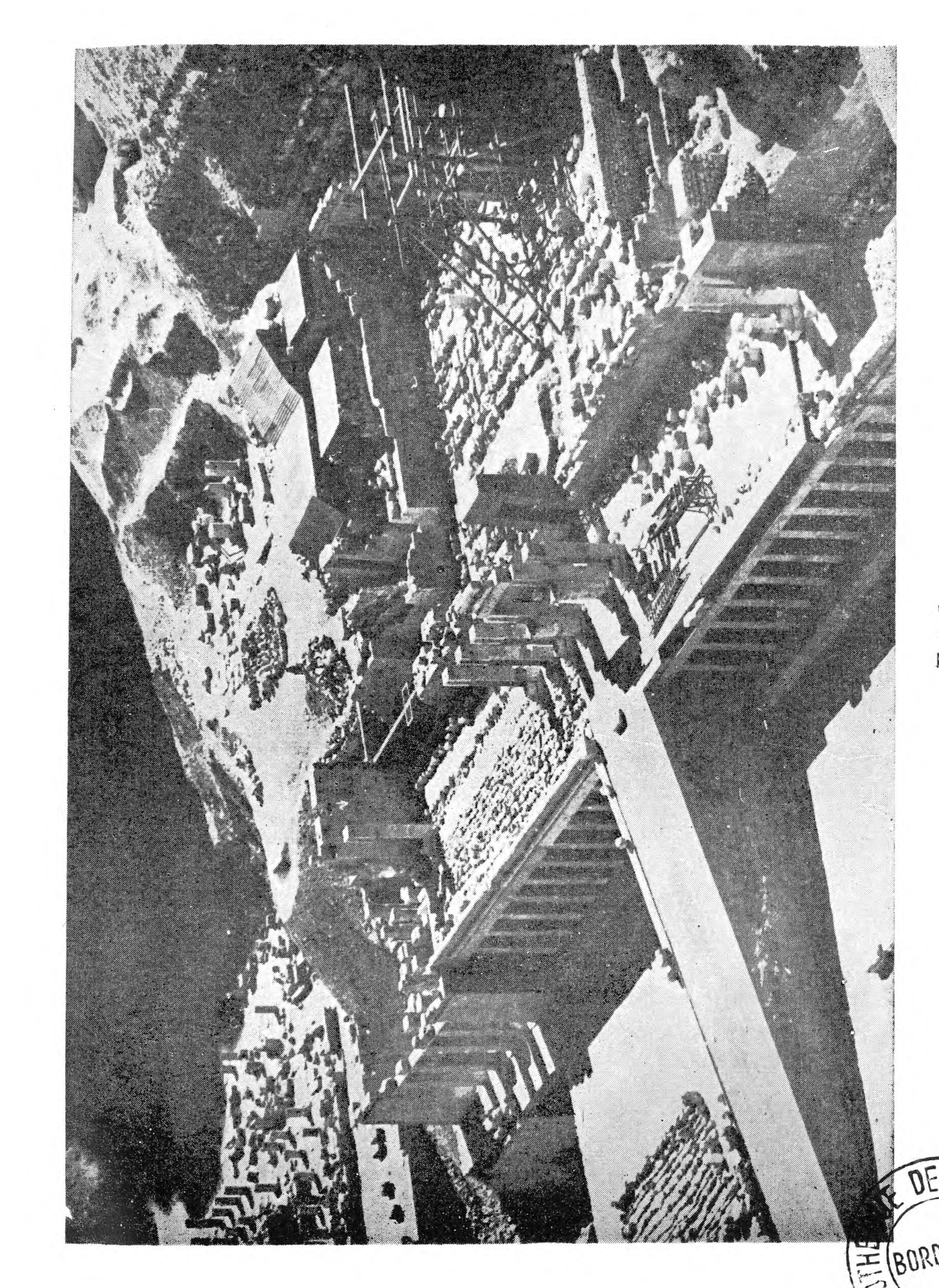


Fig. 1

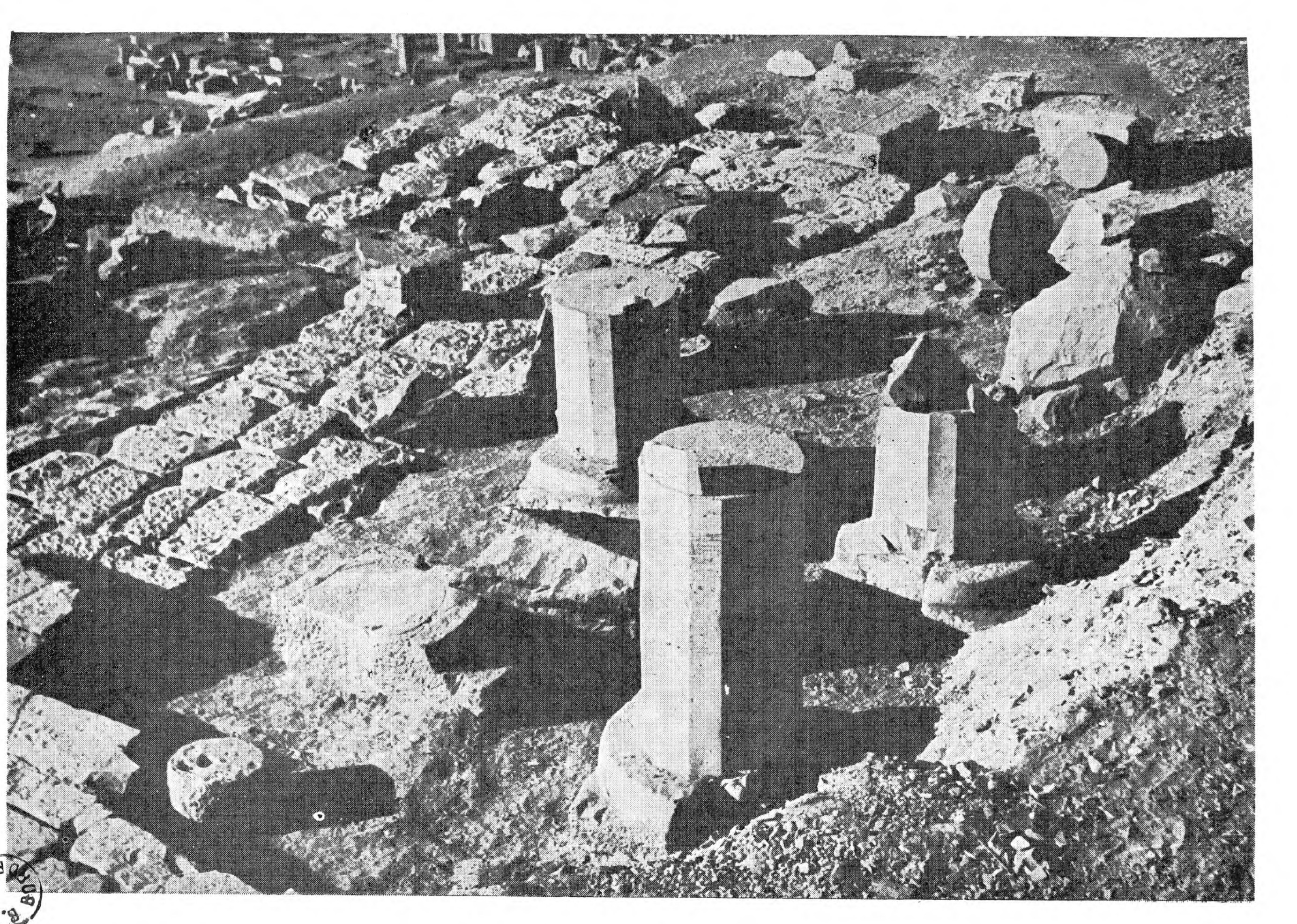


Fig. 2

Pl. I



(1)

Pl. II





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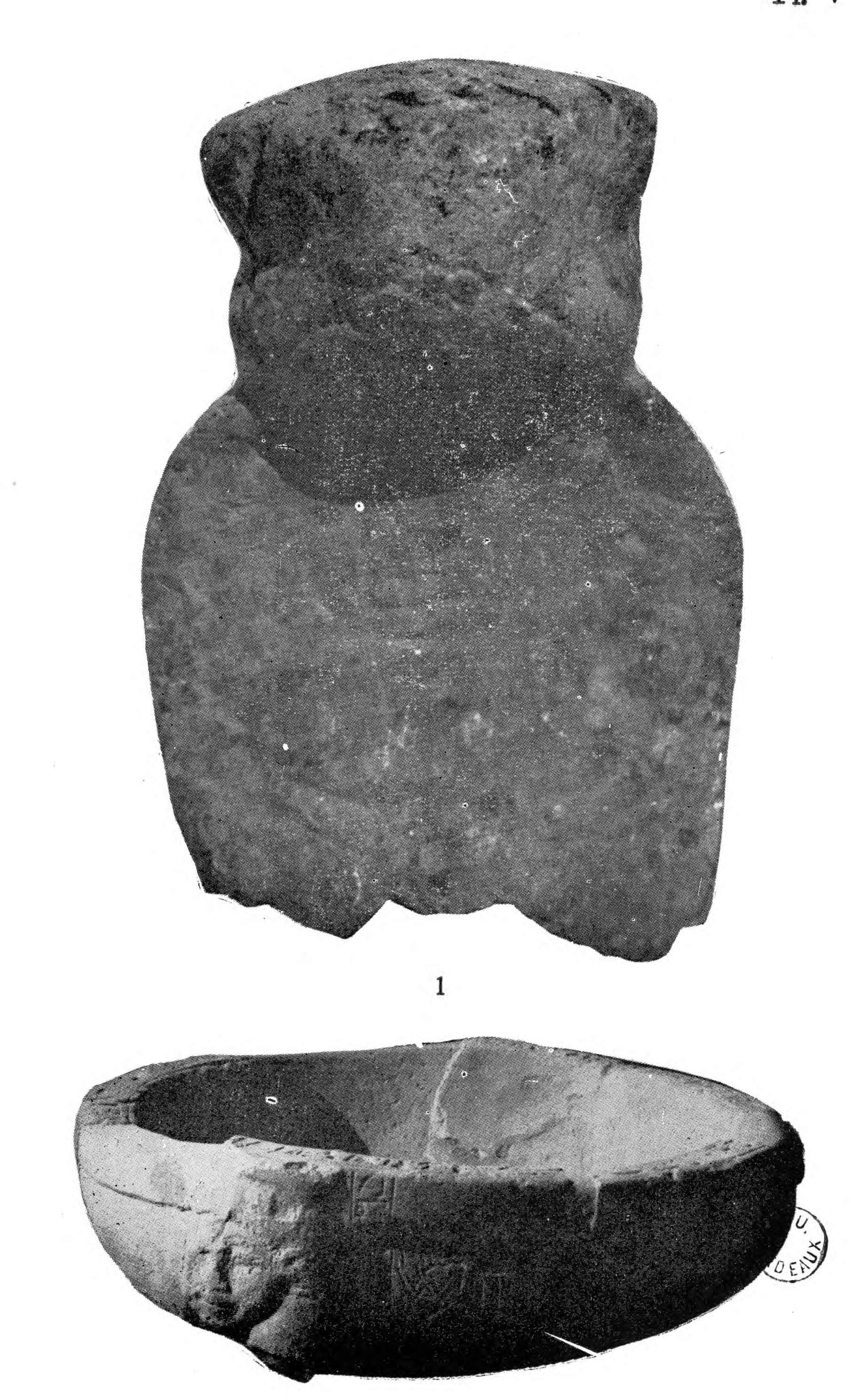
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1



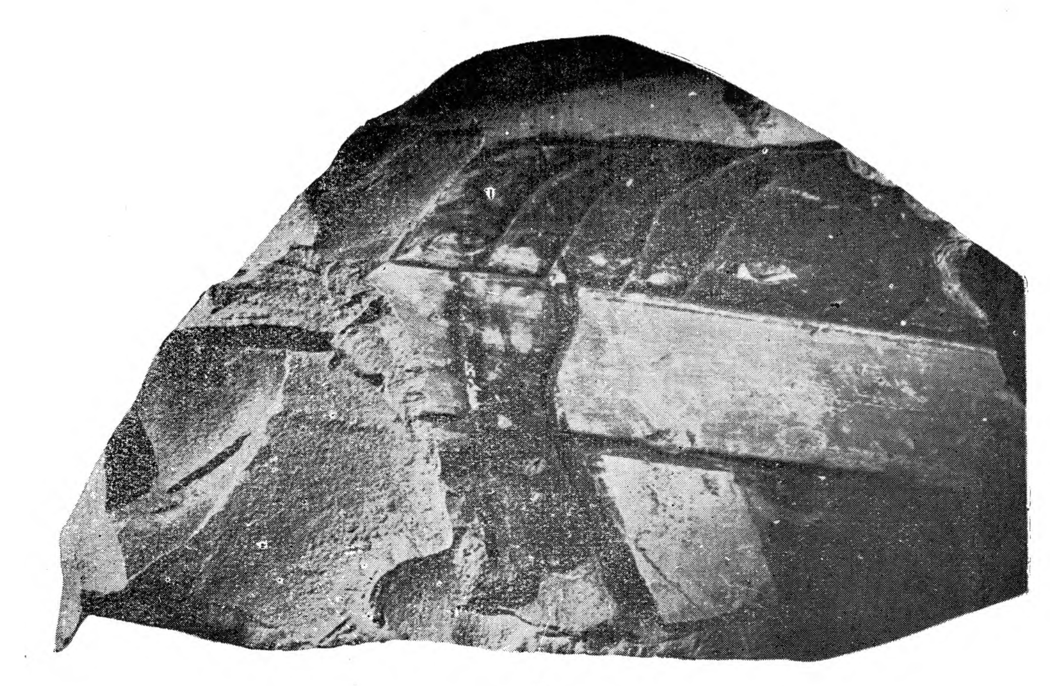
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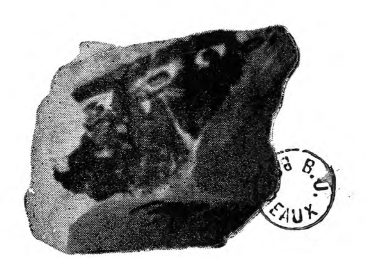
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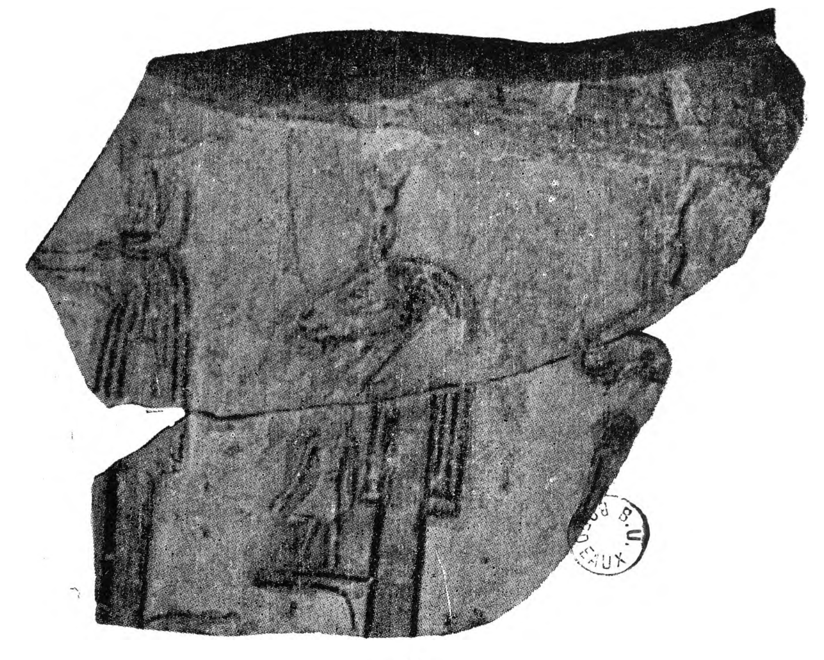

B.U. BORDEAUX



1



2



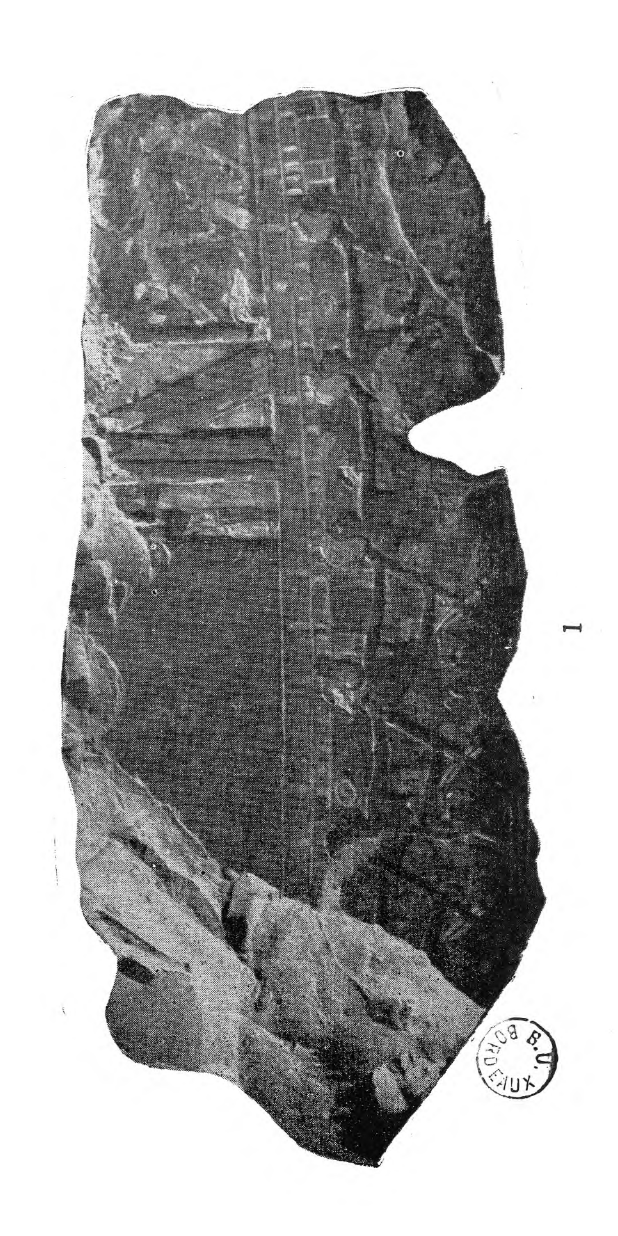
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Pl. VIII



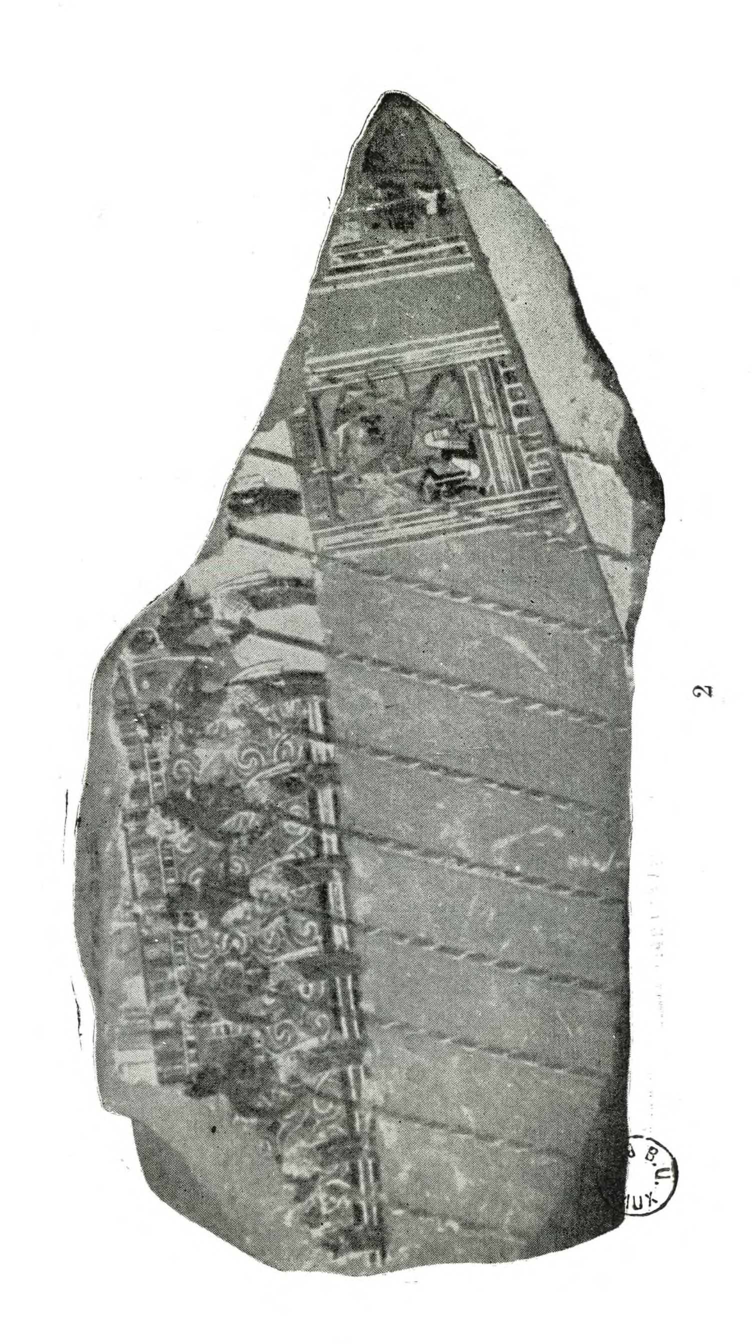
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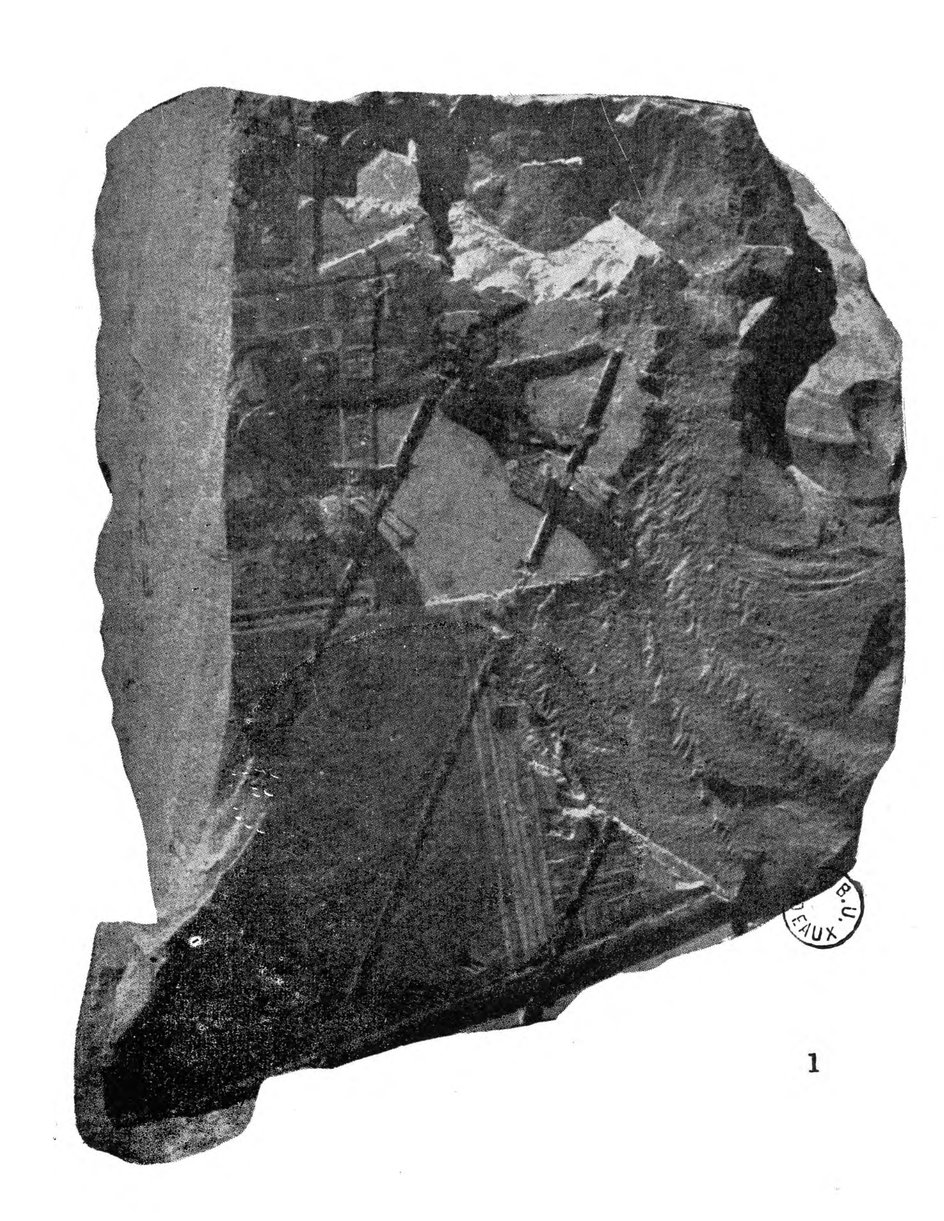


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Pl. IX *bis*



2

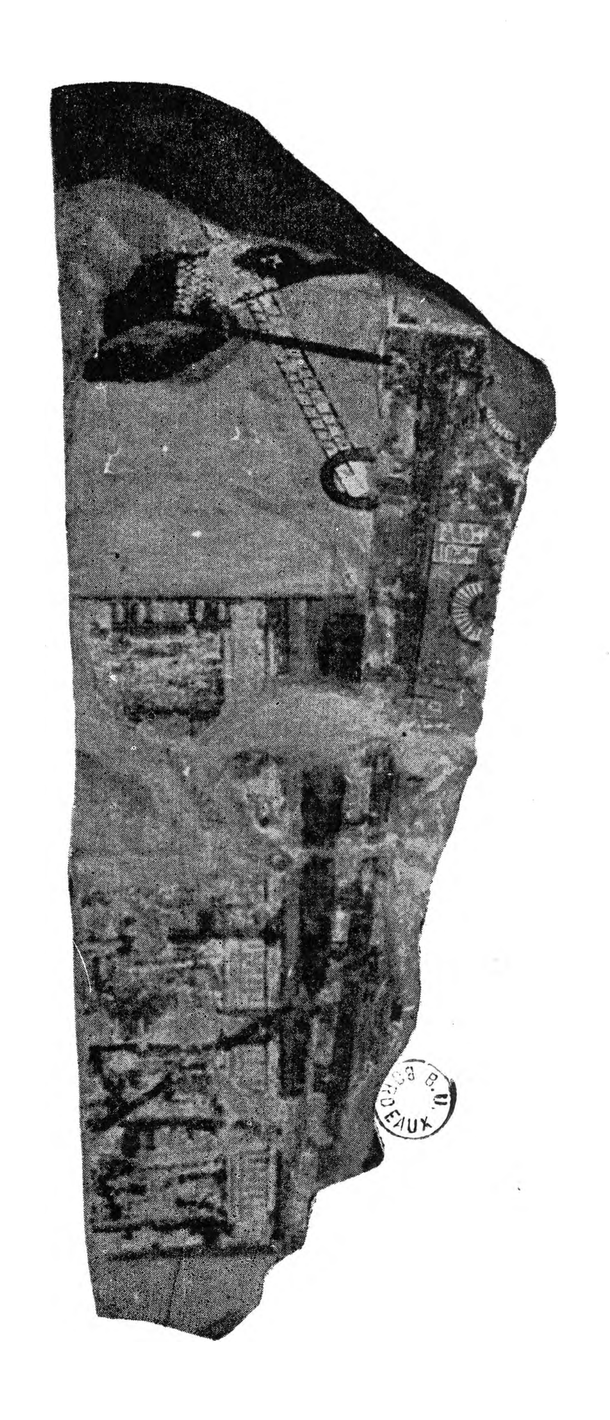


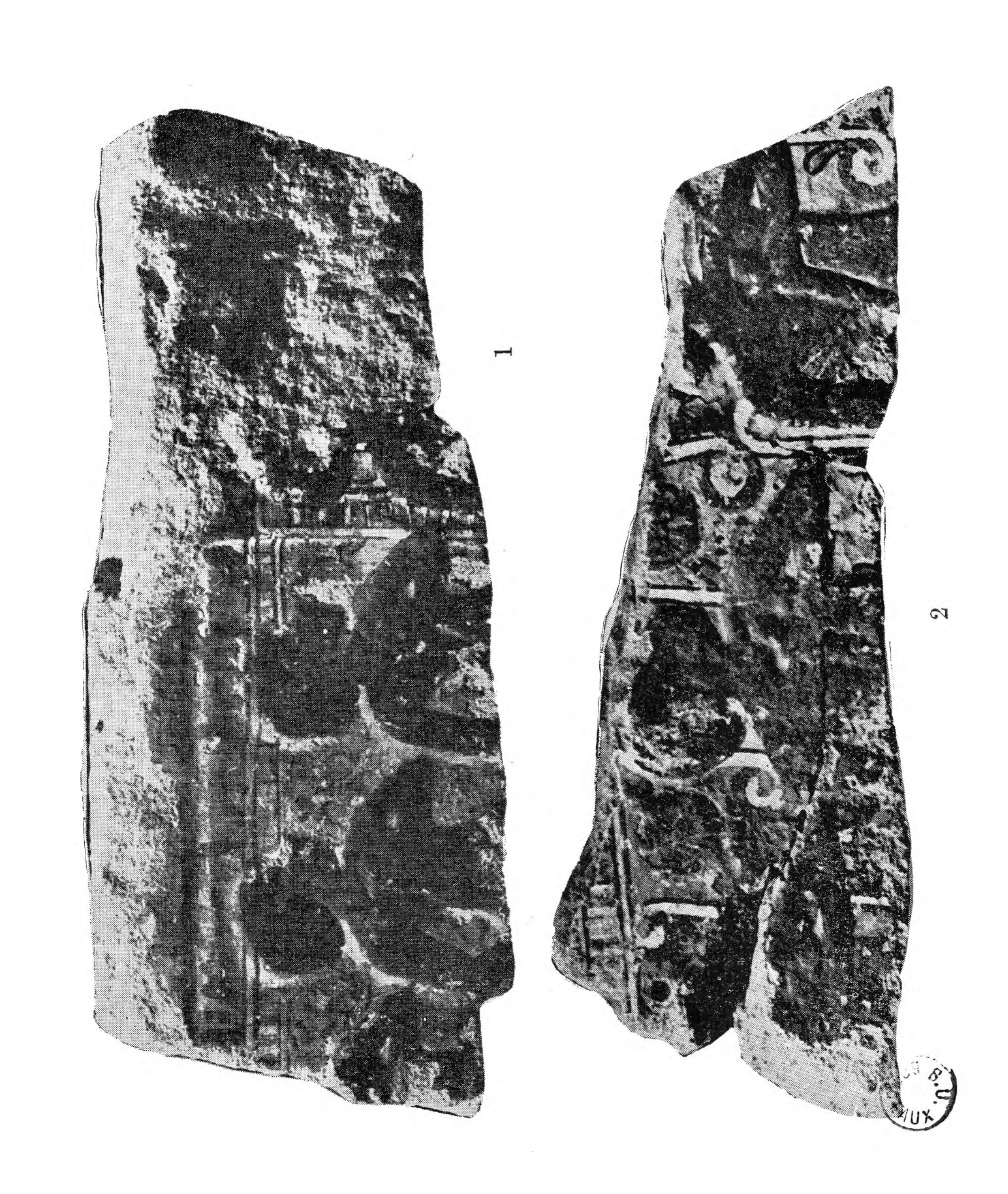
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2

Pl. XI

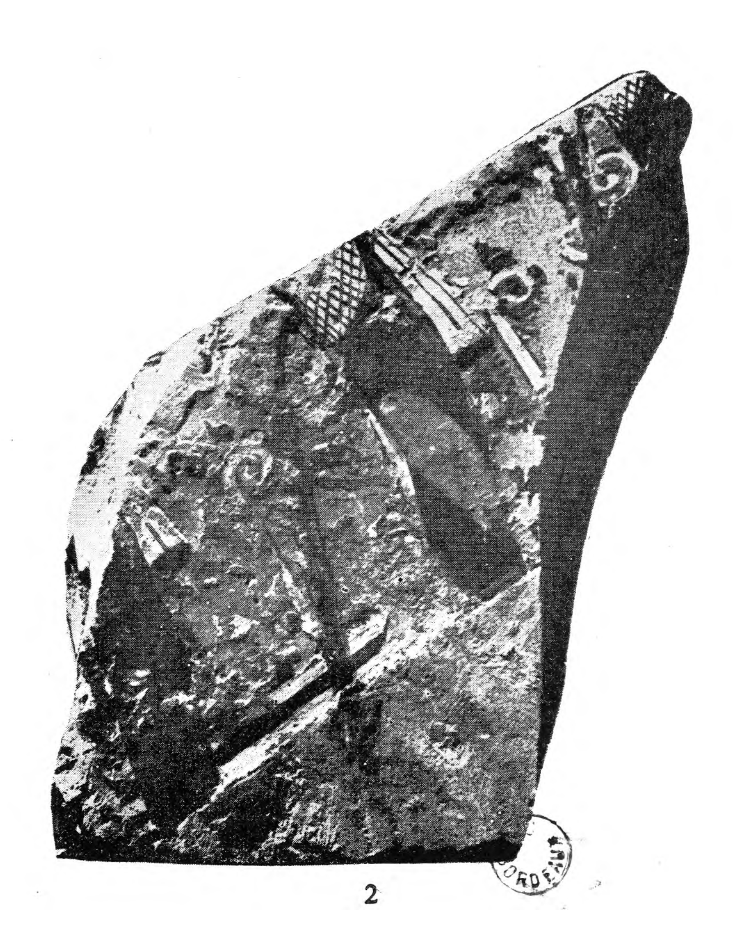



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Pl. XIII

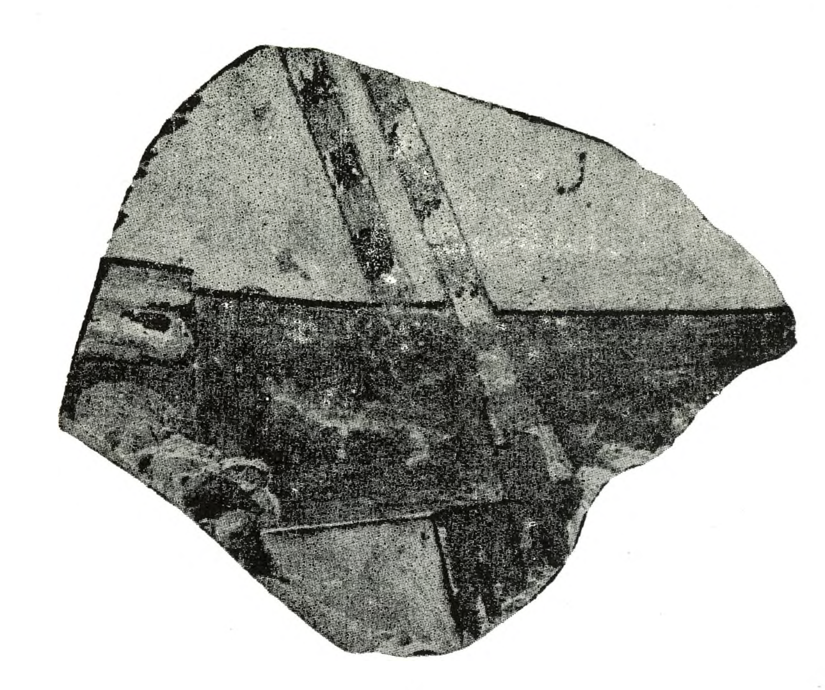


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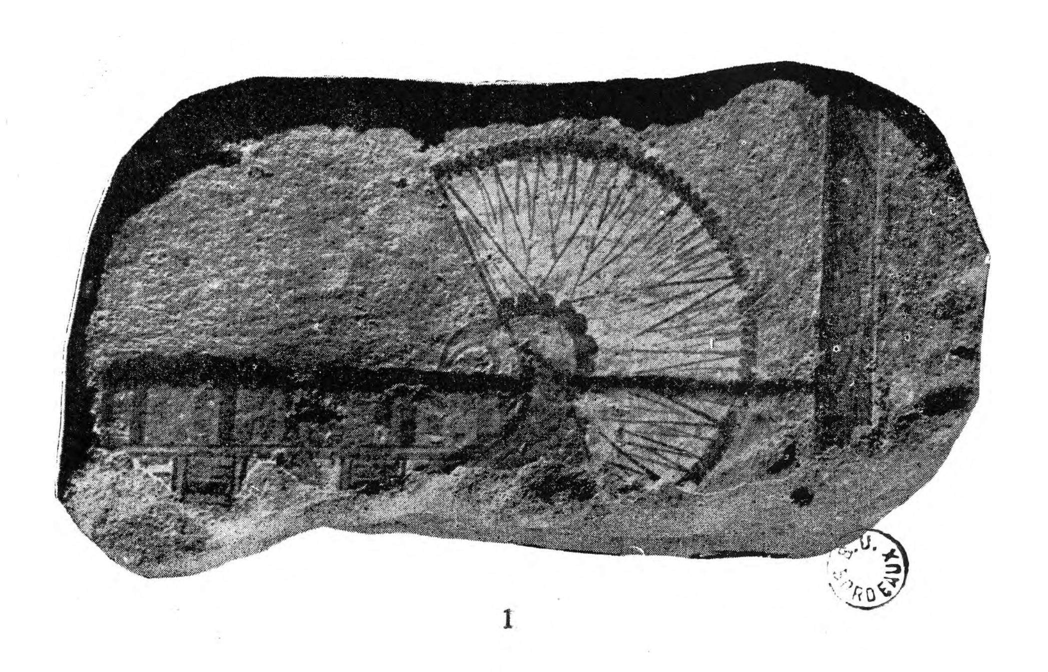




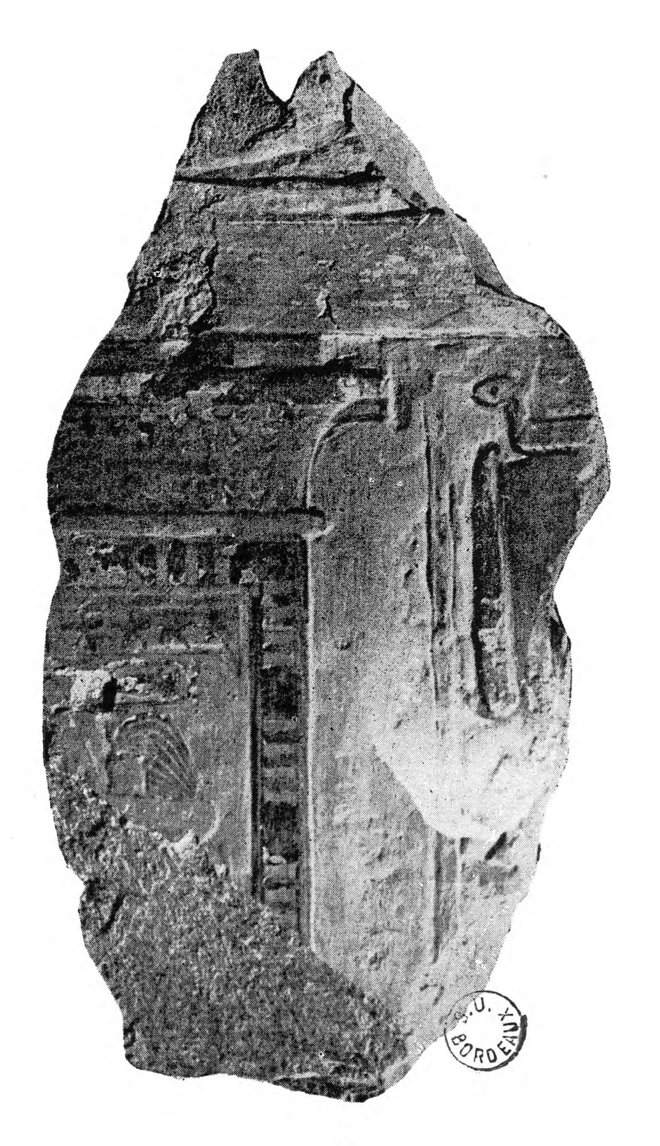
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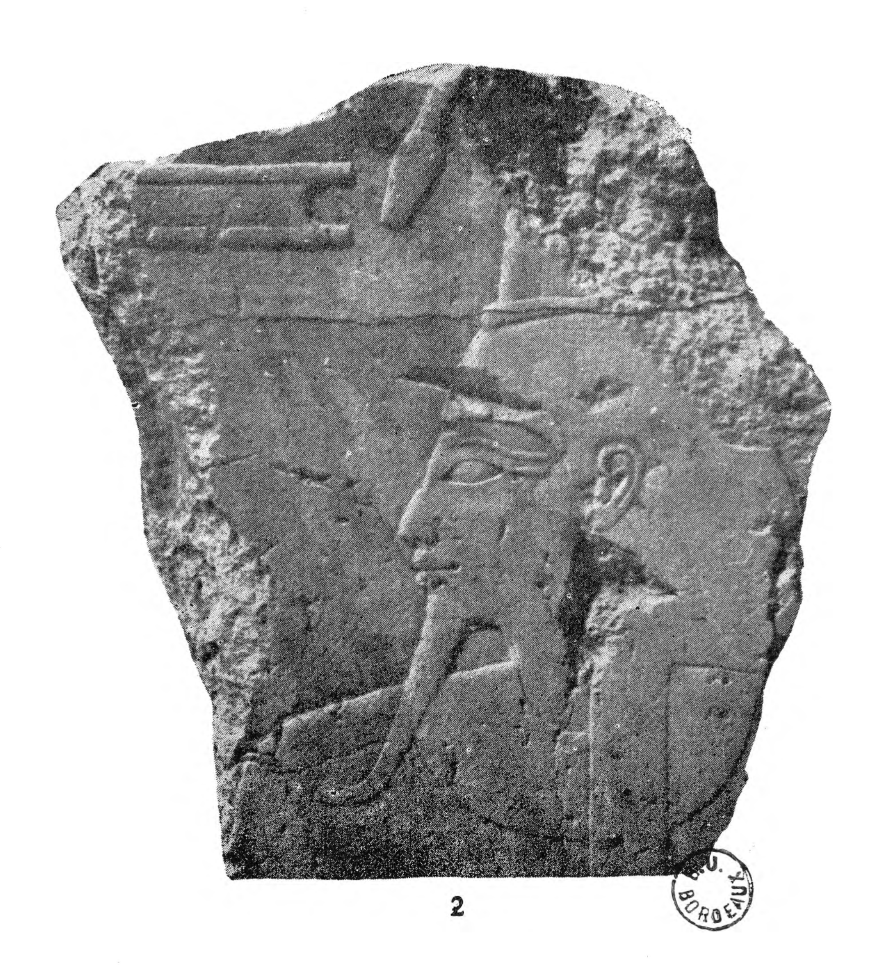
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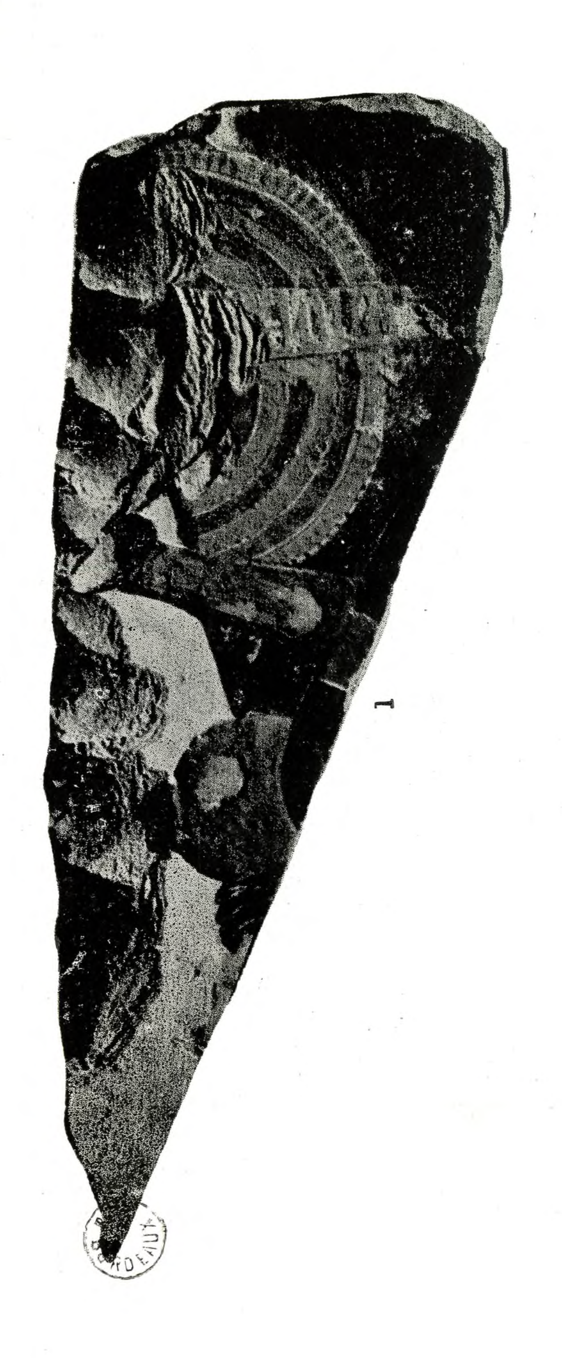


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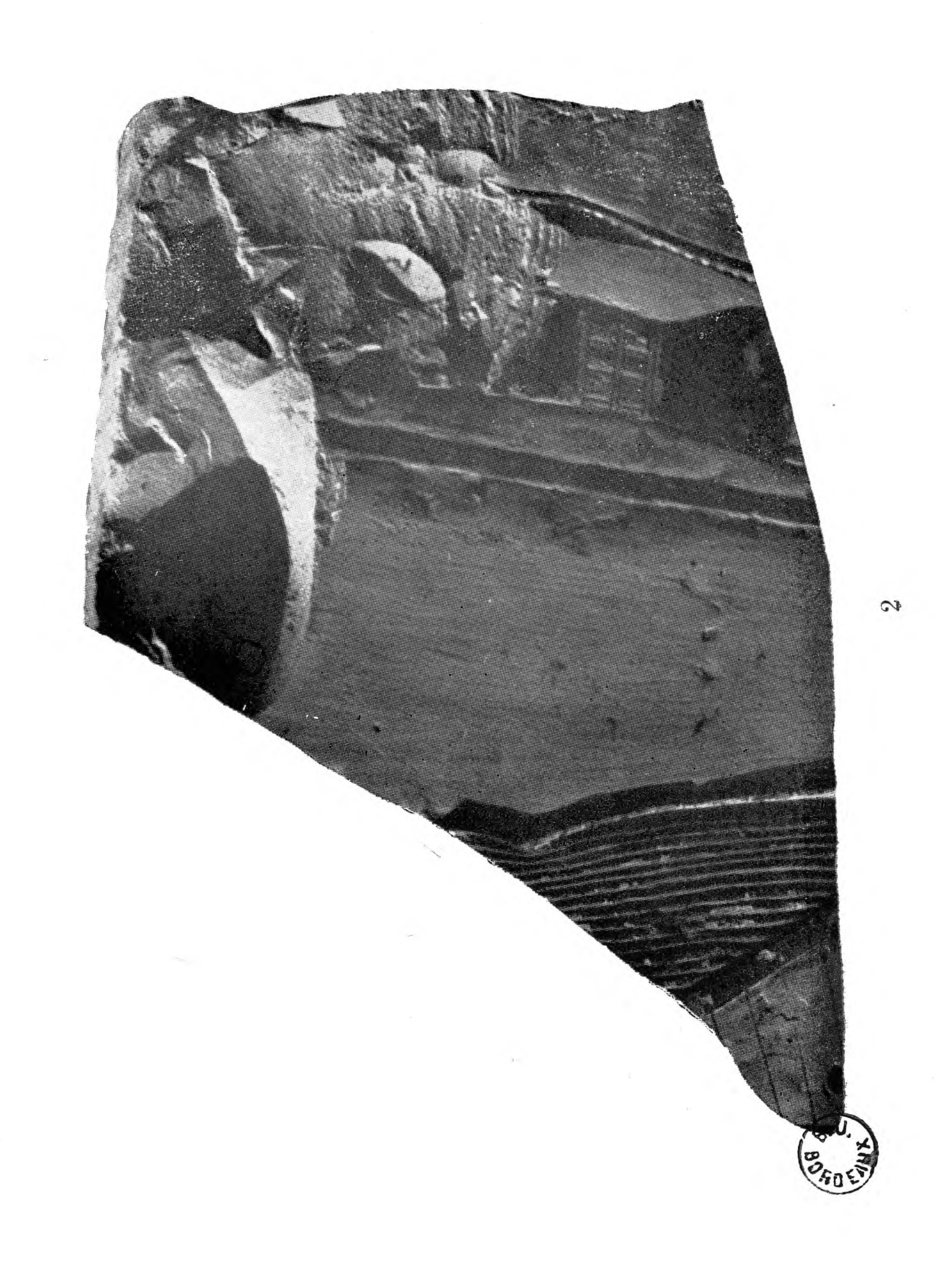


2

Pl. XVIII



1



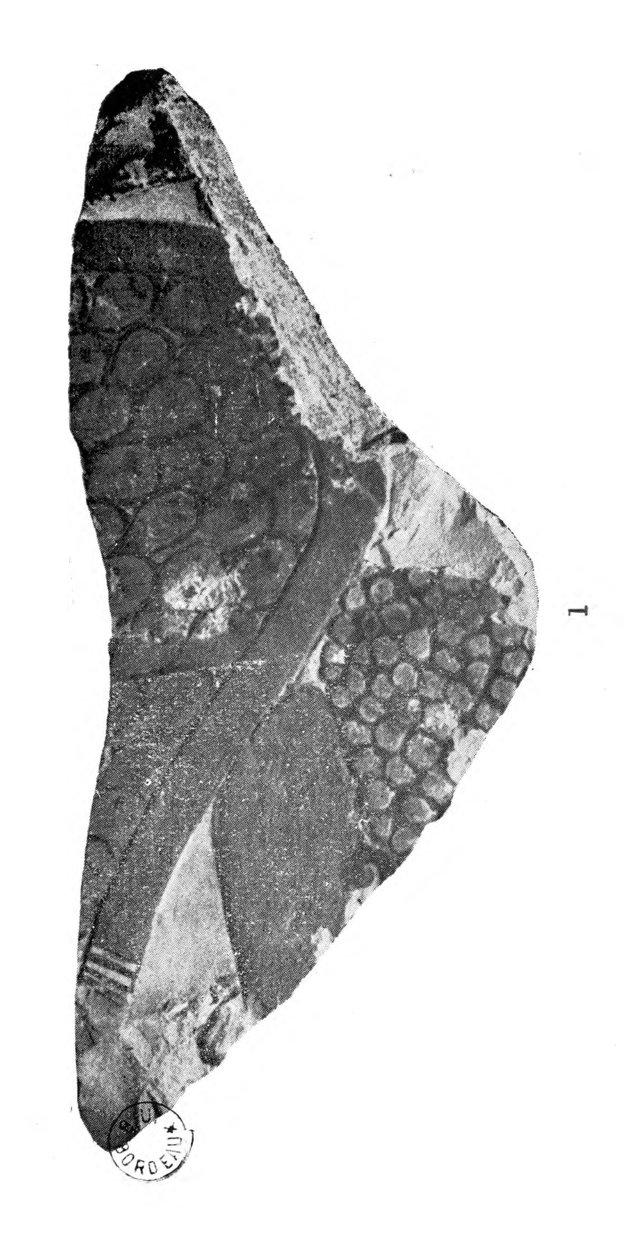
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2

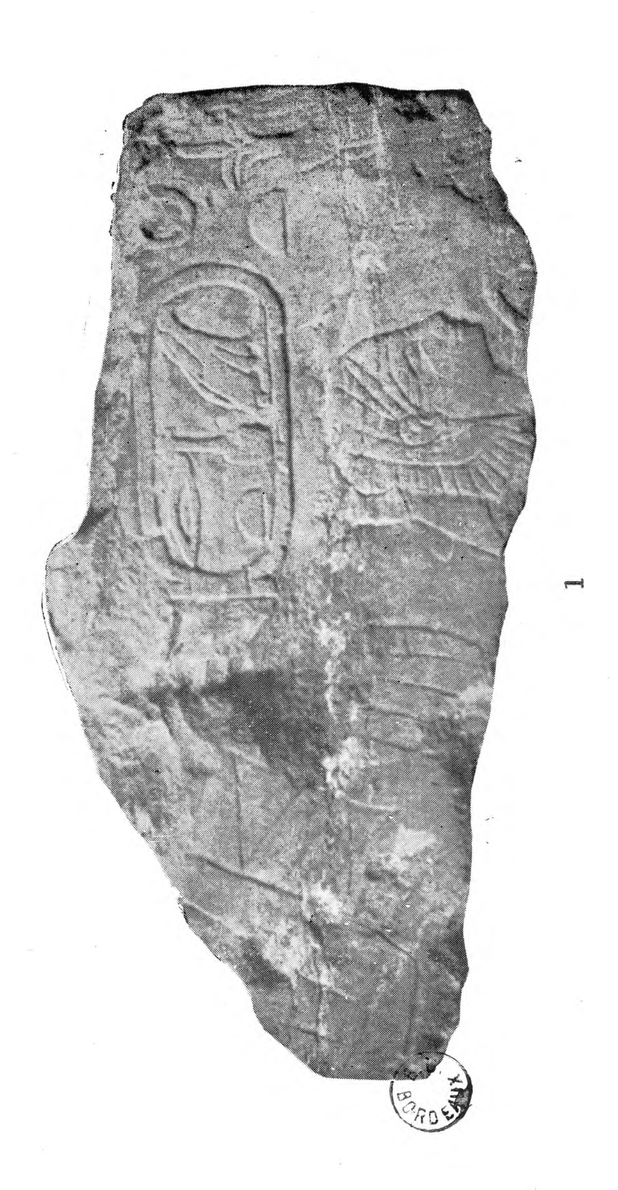


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Pl. XX *bis*

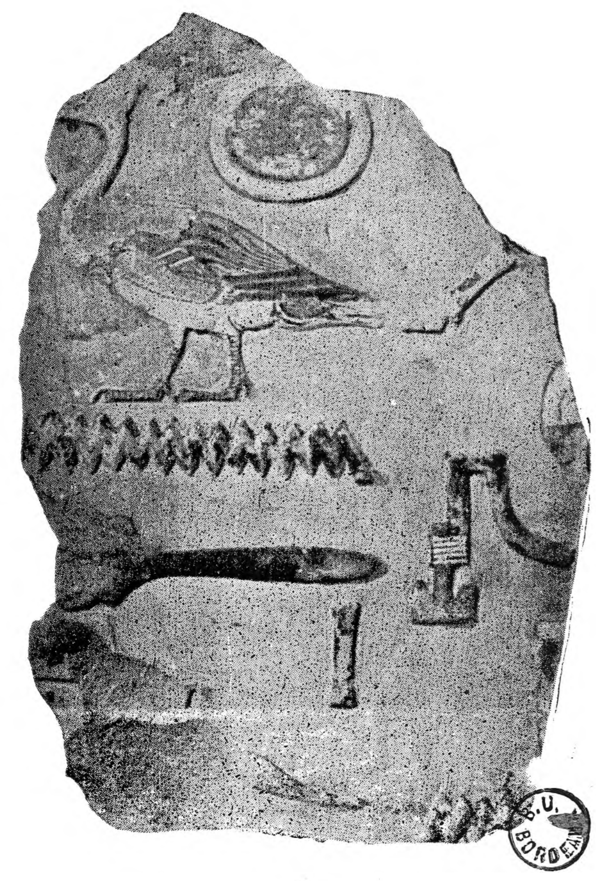


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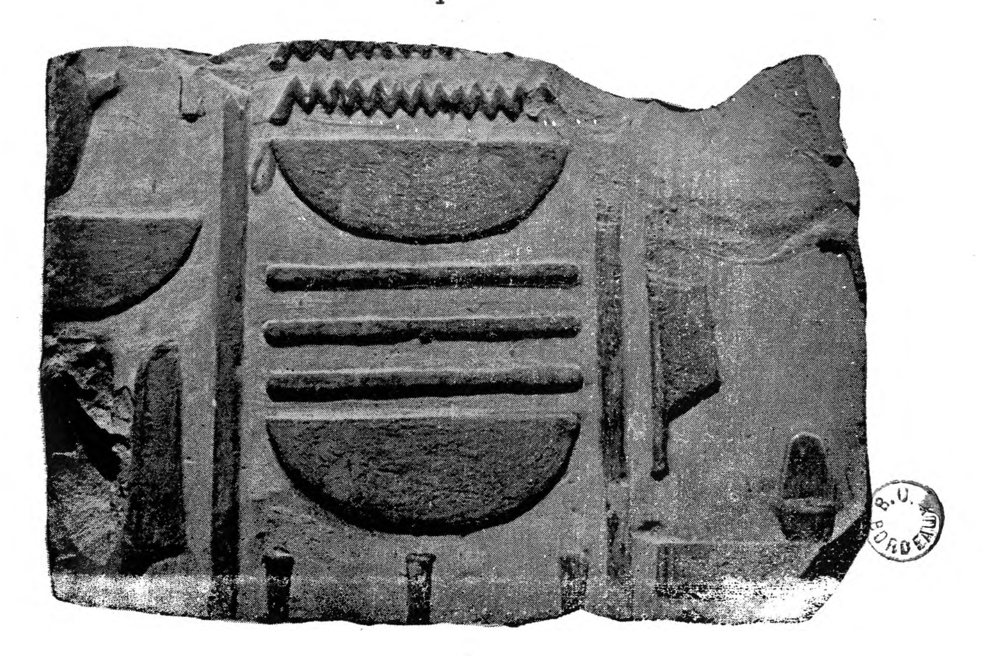




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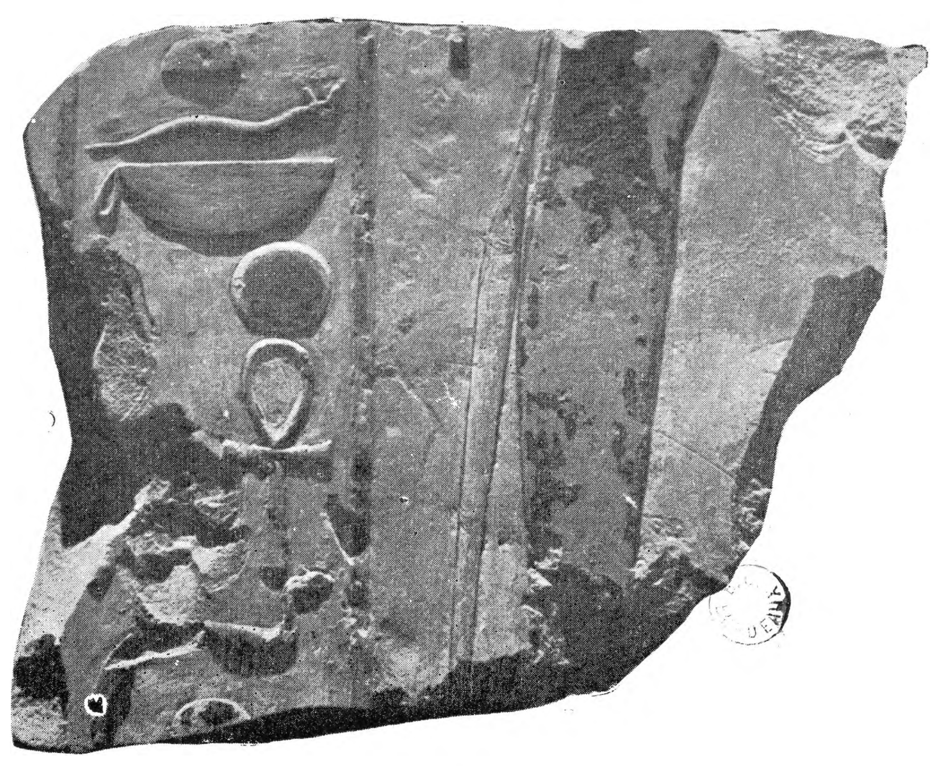
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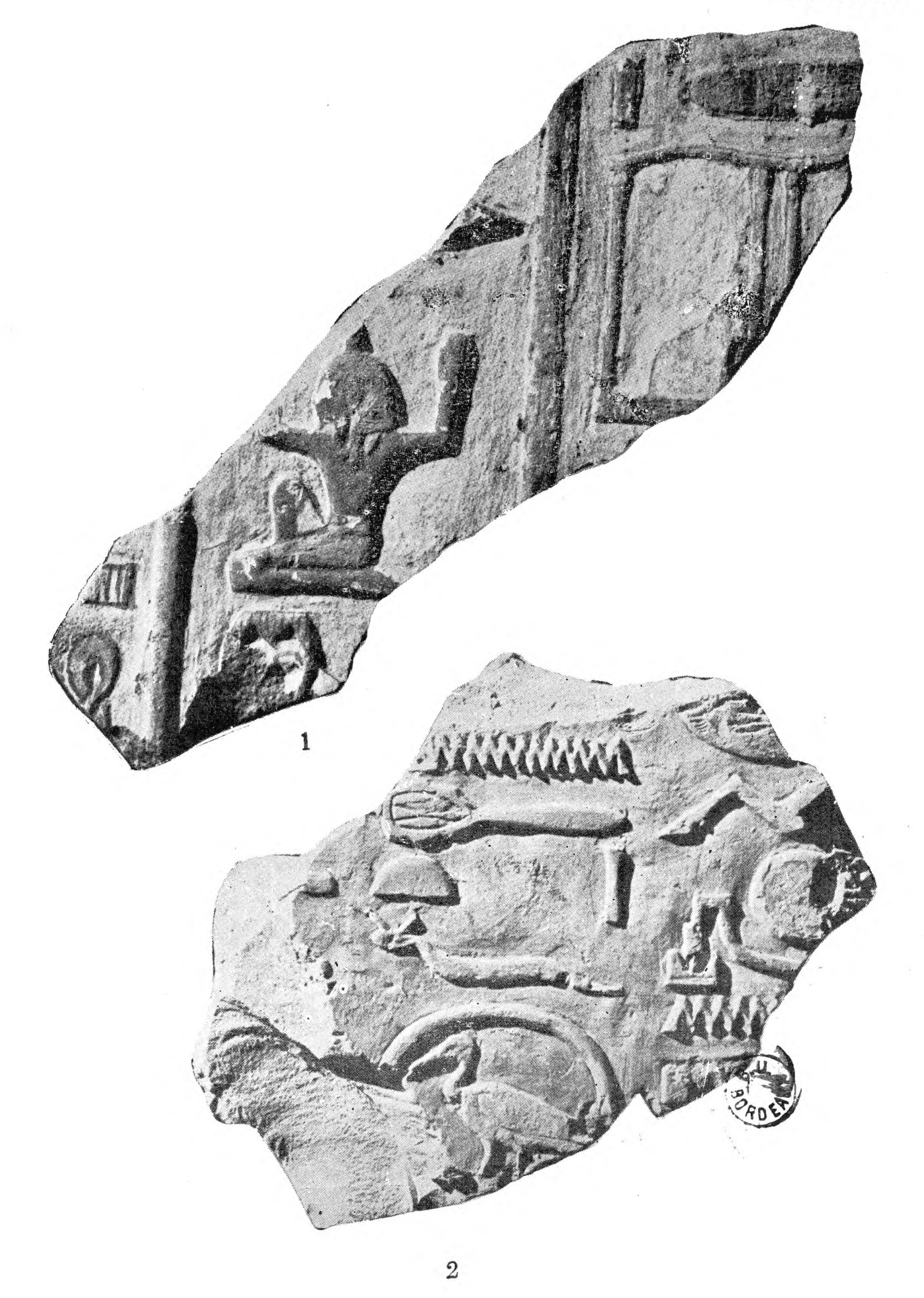
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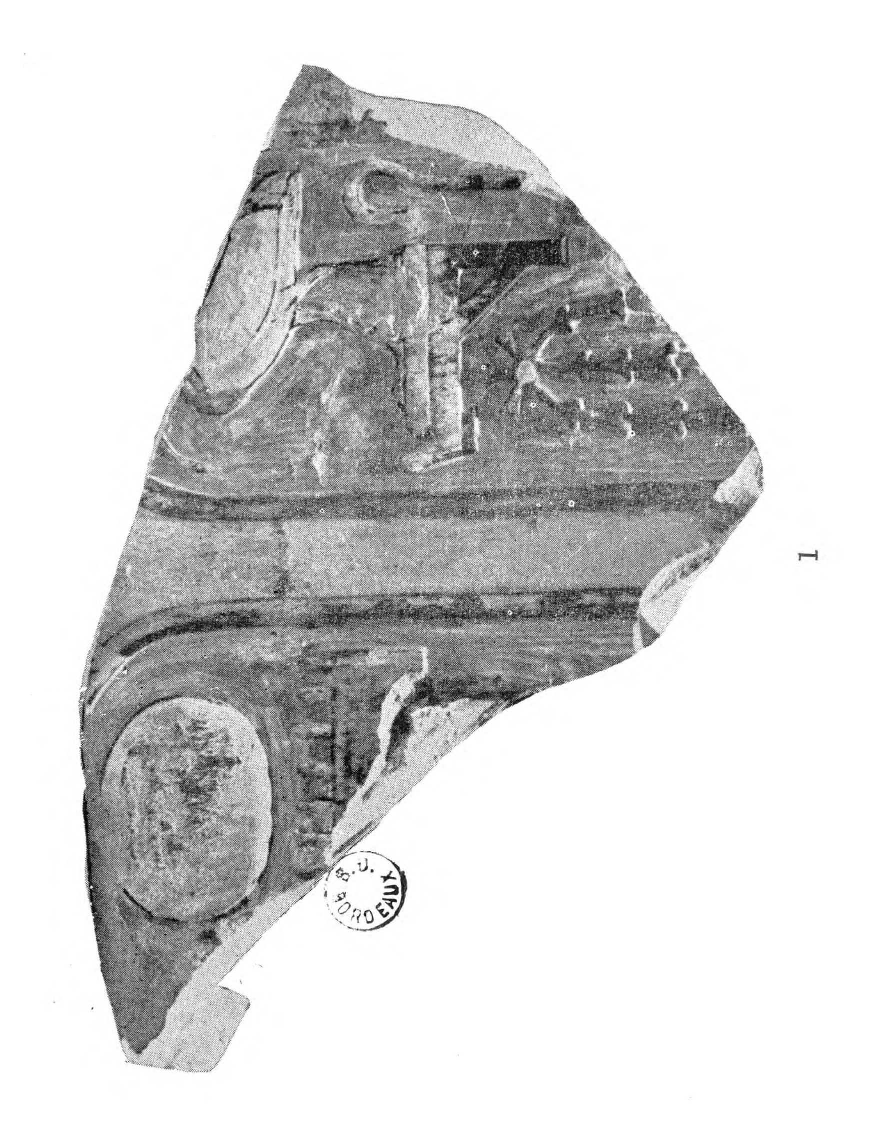


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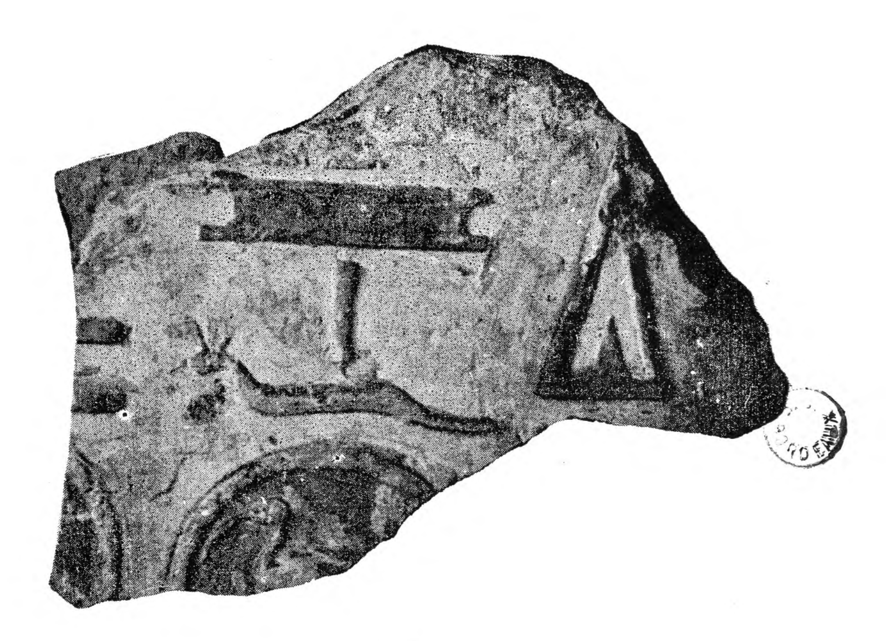


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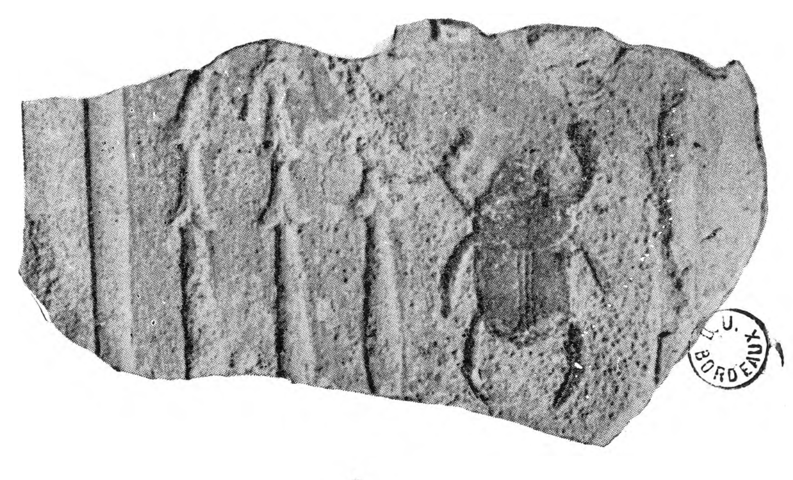
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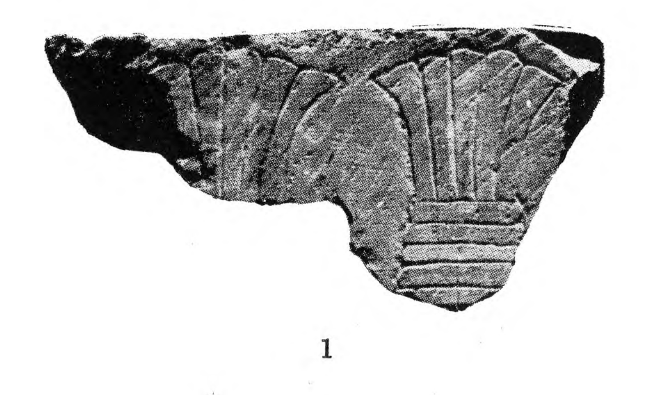
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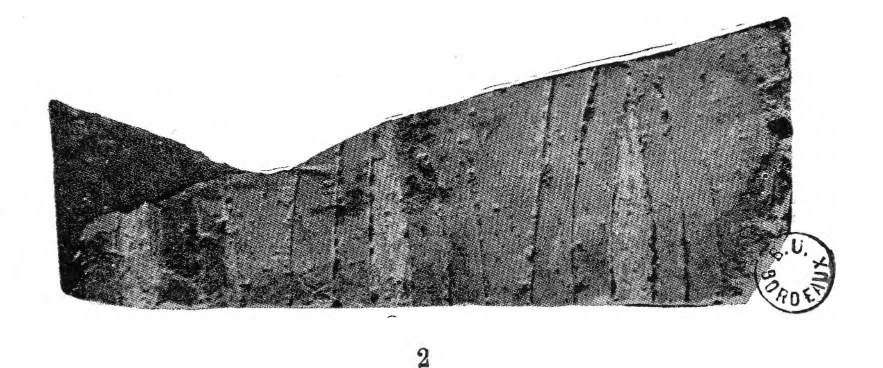
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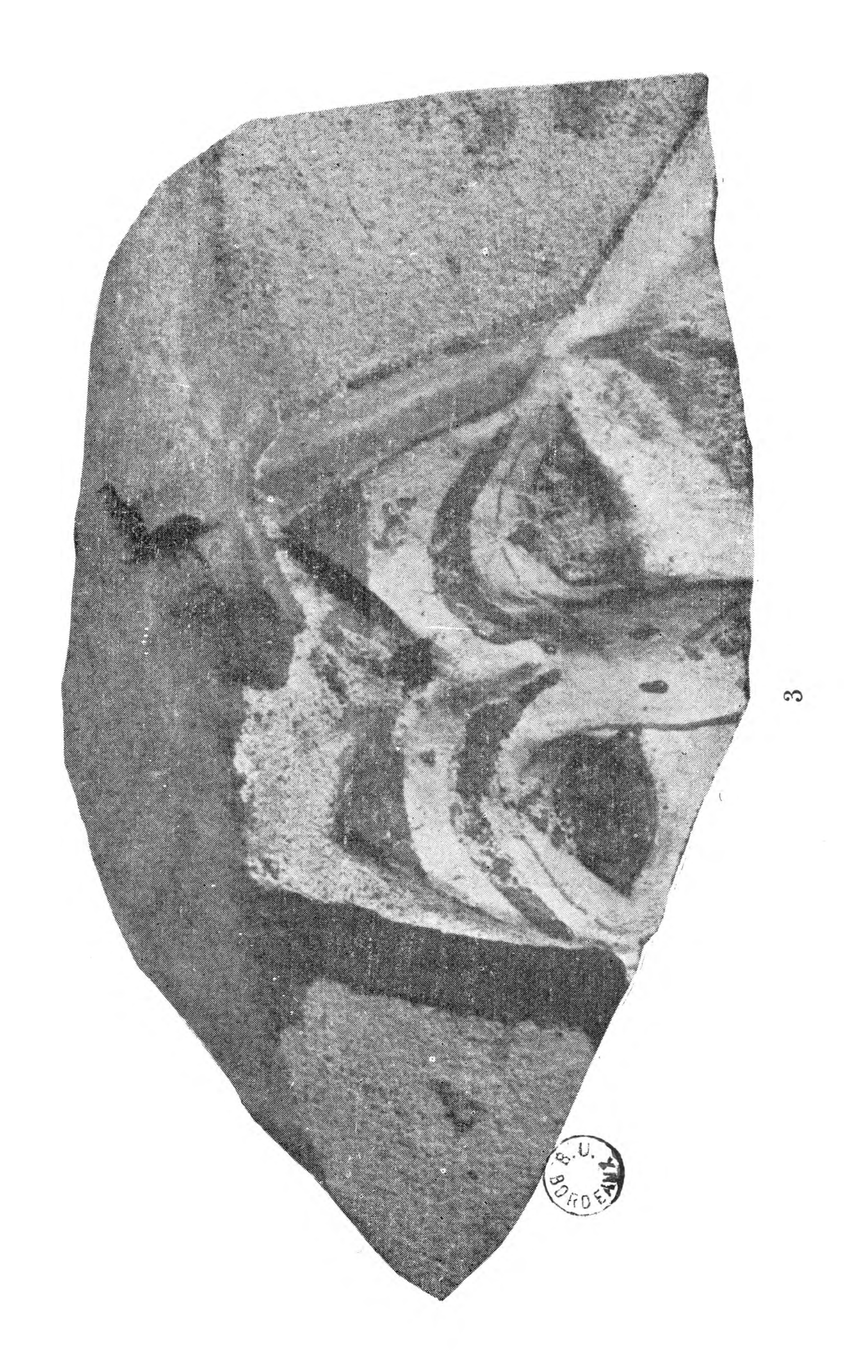
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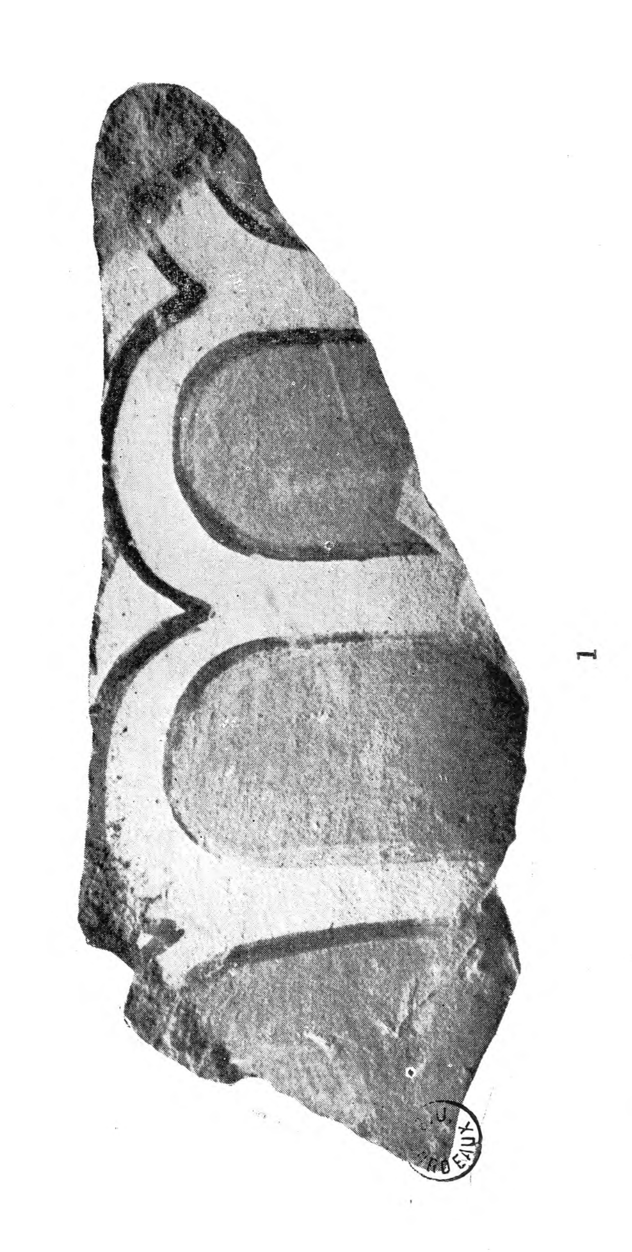
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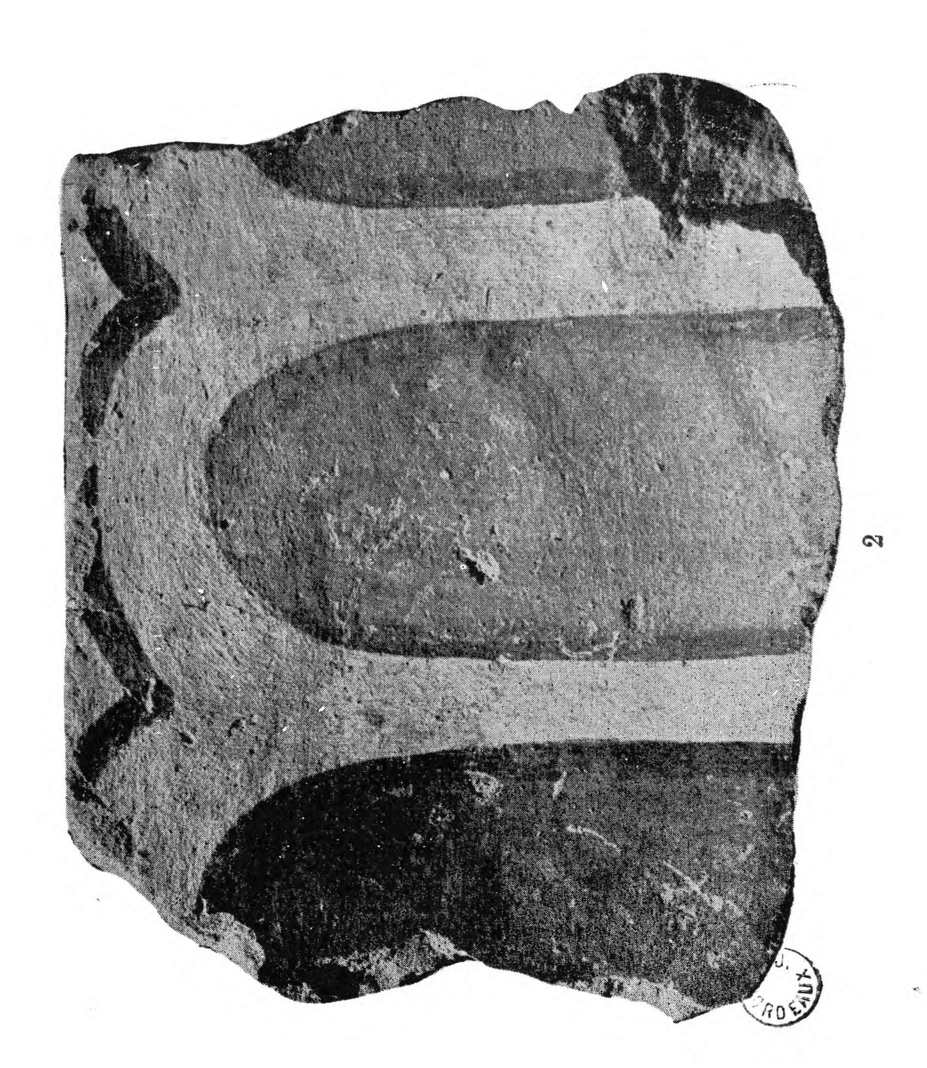
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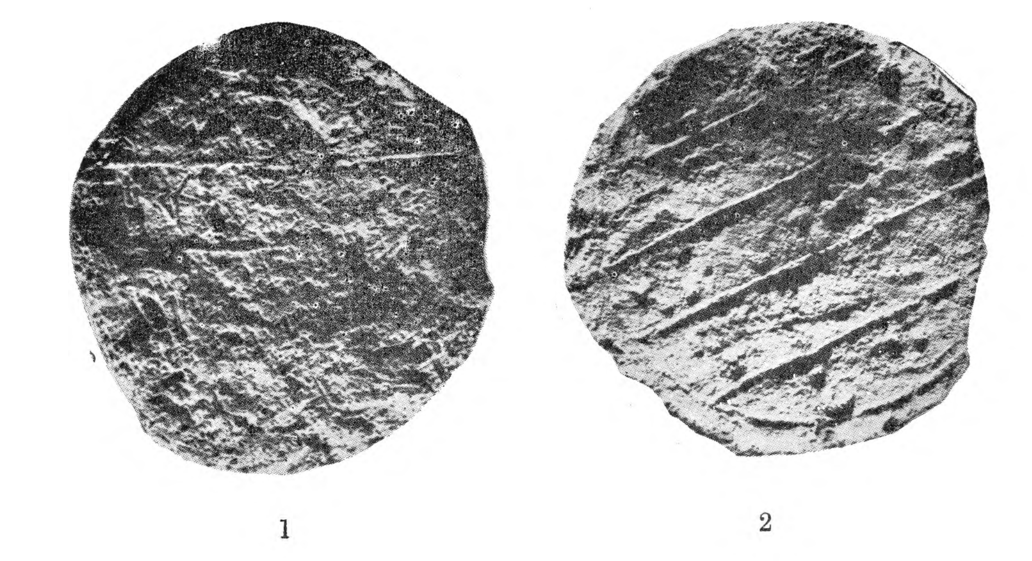


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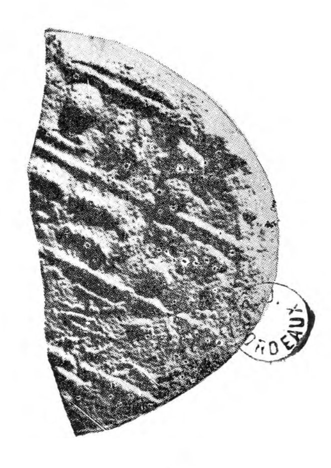

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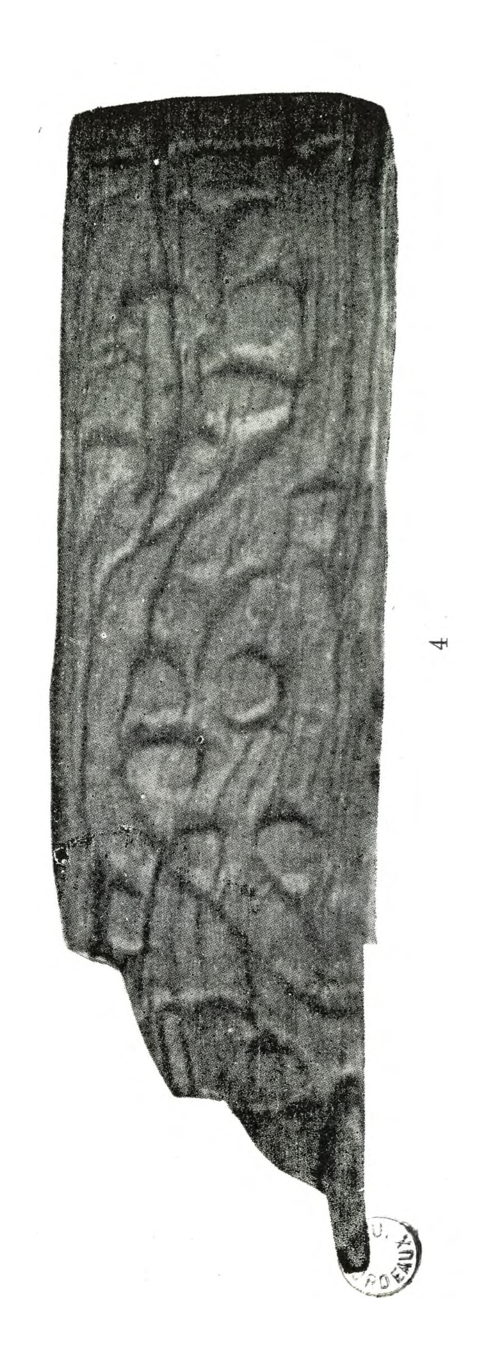
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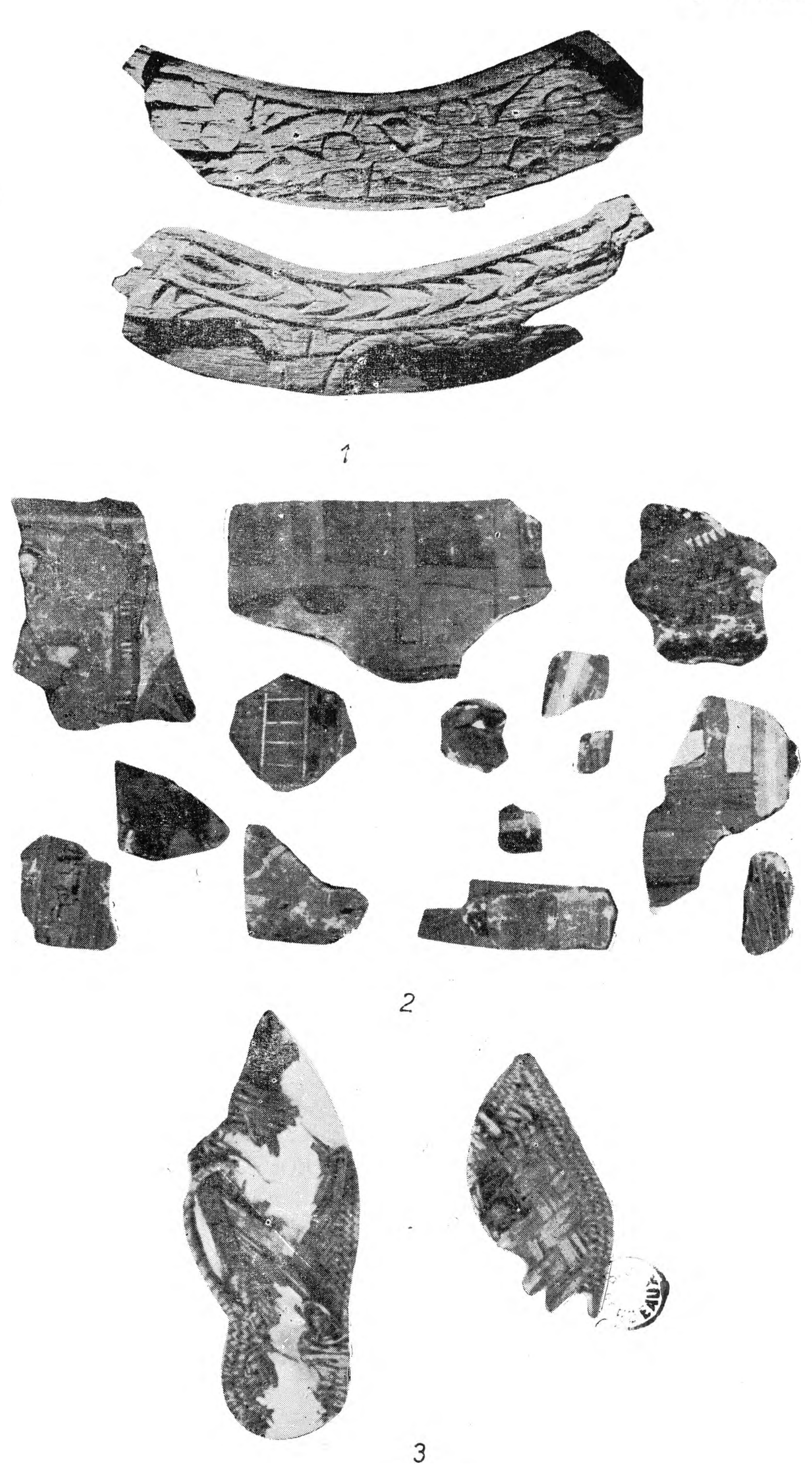
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TRIAL PITS AT KOM EL-DIKKA IN ALEXANDRIA

by

JADWIGA LIPINSKA AND HENRY RIAD

After dismantling an old Napoleonic fort built on the hill called Kom el-Dikka, a vast area was obtained for building modern houses. Before the work of new construction had started, this area presented an unique opportunity for the archaeological investigation of part of the centre of ancient Alexandria. The Antiquities Department therefore granted a licence to the Polish Centre of Mediterranean Archaeology in Cairo to dig trial trenches there.

The work started in November 1960, and the results of the excavations have been published separately 1/.

The Ministry of Culture and National Guidance had chosen a part of the area at Kom el-Dikka for building a new theatre. The Antiquities Department was then asked to make sure that this area contained no valuable antiquities, and sites for making trial excavations were located to the north, south, east and west parts of the area chosen for the new theatre. The work began on March 1963 and was finished on 20th June 1963.

Four trial pits were opened during this time ; they are marked on the plan (see plan No 1) by the letters E, F, G, H, and this preliminary report contains a detailed description of the results of the work.

The pit marked E on the plan 2/ was dug on the top of a hill, south-west from the former excavations of the Polish Archaeological Mission. The level of the present surface of this site, after dismantling the fort Kom el-Dikka and levelling the hill, is roughly 18.75 m. above the mean sea level. The pit was planned as a square 20 m. x 20 m., but after a few weeks of work, when nothing except coarse potsherds had been found,

the plans were altered and it was therefore decided to dig a smaller pit 10 m. × 10 m. in the north-west part of the area to be excavated. From this smaller pit neither a trace of any construction nor valuable finds were obtained, and when the pit was 8 m. deep, work was stopped. Although the site proved to be uninteresting, it seems to be advisable to deepen the pit by at least two or three metres, because the other excavations carried out at Kom el-Dikka and its vicinity proved beyond doubt that the usual level of foundations from the Roman Period is approximately 7 to 8.5 m. above sea level, 3/ while at the bottom of this pit we had reached only the level of + 10.5 m.

The upper layer of the soil in the excavated area revealed a typical stratum, being a product of this place having been used as a dumping ground. This layer, 5 metres thick, consisted of a compact earth with limestone gravel potsherds, broken glass, lumps of vitreous slag, charcoal, ash and thin animal bones. Similar strata are known to us from the previous excavations at Kom-el-Dikka 4/.

Although very few examples were found of glazed ware, so abundant in the northern and eastern parts of the hill, the stratigraphic sequence of potsherds of a coarse utility pottery coincides with findings obtained from former excavations, which brought to light a mass of clearly stratified ceramic material. With the aid of the dated potsherds we can define the chronological position of this layer as being slowly accumulated between the 12th and the 15th centuries A.D.

Beneath, the soil consists of compact dark earth with limestone gravel. Judging by ceramic evidence, this area had been strongly disturbed in the past, and little can be said about its history until the completion of the excavations on the site.

Pit F (see plan No 2). This pit covers an area of 20 m.x 20 m. in the eastern lower slope of Kom el-Dikka, the level of the surface being at present 16.5 m. to 17.5 m. above mean sea level.

After removing the first typical strata of rubbish almost the same as that described above, with the occasional pockets of concrete, the site revealed the existence of fourteen Arab tombs, built on the level of about + 14.5 m. in the southern part of the pit, and sloping northwards to a level of + 13 m. The tombs were directed east-west and were built of small limestone blocks heavily plastered, which were covered by bigger rectangular slabs. There was more than one burial to a tomb ; sometimes one tomb contained even five or six skeletons. In some tombs we found that earlier human remains had been pushed aside to make room for later burials, but occasionally two skeletons were lying in undisturbed positions one beside the other. It seems probable that the "double" burials were caused by an epidemic. No inscription or any directly datable object was found in the tombs, but the ceramic evidence indicates their approximate date as being shortly before the Mamluk period. This cemetery, evidently a poor one, spreads widely almost all over the Kom el-Dikka, where hundreds of tombs had previously been discovered, varying very slightly in quality and style. Outside the tombs a great quantity of human bones was found, buried in heaps of rubbish. 5/. In one of the tombs a funerary stela came to light, but it was found not in situ, but used as a building material. It bears a Kufic inscription with the date 289 A.H., that is 901-902 A.D. Other examples of re-using older tombstones and slabs of marble in the tombs of this cemetery were already known from previous excavations at Kom-el-Dikka.

Having but a short time to complete the work, after clearing the cemetery, it was decided to leave its western half and to explore the eastern one more deeply.

In the north-east corner of this trench, immediately beneath the tomb marked F. 12, a row of large limestone blocks was found. After further digging around it proved to be the top of a huge plastered wall, running east-west. The foundations of this wall were not reached until the end of the excavations, but its height in the recovered part is four metres, the lowest course of blocks being at the level + 9.5. (See photo No 1).

The upper part of the wall consists of eight courses of square limestone blocks of slightly varying dimensions (0.35 m. to 0.45 m)., built over two thicker substructures, stepping each a little ahead of other. The main part of this wall turns at both its ends into two perpendicular walls. One of them at the western end, is badly preserved and looks like having been delibarately dismantled in the past. The other, better preserved, is sunk into the soil at the limit of the pit. 6/. On the northern side of this wall in the bottom of the pit, the earth has collapsed, opening a narrow hole in which another stone construction can be seen running northwards. The level of this hole is about 8 m. above the sea level. Further examination of this structure was impossible, however, as it runs beyond the present limits of the excavations.

Following the clearance of this huge wall, digging progressed southwards, and after discovering the limestone base of a column turned down, we found a channel, running east-west, built of small limestone blocks (0.35 m. × 0.4 m. × 0.1 m.) covered by flat rectangular slabs. The upper level of the channel is + 10.08 m.

On its southern side, half a metre deeper, a strange construction of a double gully was discovered. The gully is constructed as a rectangle 2 m. × 1.71 m., bisected by a dividing wall half a metre thick. The walls were built by means of laying two courses of red bricks measuring 25 × 25 × 3 cm. alternately with two courses of limestone blocks 10 cm. high, built in with mortar mixed with ash, known to us from the Roman constructions discovered by the Polish Archaeological Mission in the northern part of the Kom. This gully was cleared in its northern part three metres down without meeting the end of the walls, but the danger of loose blocks hanging over the heads of the workers compelled us to discontinue going further down. In this place the deepest point of the excavation was reached, being only at + 5.48 m. 7/. This part of the gully has regular holes in its two walls, obviously to facilitate the descent. In the upper part of its western wall an arch built of red bricks obviously served to narrow the opening of the gully. The span of this arch is 0.55 m. Similar arches were found in another

part of the gully, in its eastern and western walls, leading to short corridors blocked by huge limestone blocks with traces of channels in their lowest ruined parts. There, too, the danger of falling stones interrupted the work.

The trench revealed interesting data for further examination but, as it covers only a small area and all the constructions discovered were excavated only partly, it is difficult to interpret them properly. The present excavations proved that the site was well distributed in time, ranging from the Roman period (the gully) to the 12th century Arab cemetery. The dating of the plastered wall cannot be made until further excavation has been carried out. On the basis of ceramic evidence , it seems to be of Arab construction, but as it was founded very deeply, there is reason to believe that possibly the origin of this structure was at the end of the Roman period, but it was still in use in early Arab times. Anyway, its top was above the soil until the 12th century, when a p rt of it was used as the bottom of a tomb.

Trench G (see plan No. 3 and the section on plan No. 4). The site for digging a trial pit was situated close to Trench C explored by the Polish Archaeological Mission. It was chosen there in order to determine whether the huge vaulted stone-built construction, dated as of the middle Roman period, and which run in this direction at the bottom of the Polish trench, still continued. The trial pit, covering an area of 25 m. × 10 m., was situated at surface level roughly + 16.5 metres.

The usual layer of rubbish was explored, and part of an Arab cemetery was revealed, consisting of nine tombs. On the cemetery level a few completely coroded bronze coins were found, and two inscribed glass pieces were weights or seals, but Kufic inscriptions incised on them do not give any precise date.

In the eastern part of the trench some narrow stone walls of poor quality were discovered, enclosing a group of tombs. One of these walls, bisecting the trench from the north to the south (its top at level + 13.2 m.), proved to be founded much deeper than the foundations of the tombs, which

were built close to its eastern side using it as their back walls. From the moment this wall was completely cleared, the eastern part of the trench was left unexplored, and the main task consisted in digging the western part, where the continuation of a vaulted construction was expected. Immediately below the foundations of the wall, at the level of + 11.5m. to + 12 m. the top of a huge limestone construction was hit upon and, after further digging, a part of a large building appeared, consisting of an outer wall with a doorway in its centre, blocked by a mass of concrete and huge blocks (see photo No 2). Outside this wall running east-west, at level + 9, 85 m., a pavement was cleared made of limestone slabs built in with mortar and, where the pavement was destroyed, a small channel appeared beneath it running paralel to the wall ; it was built of limestone blocks and covered by flat slabs. The opening of the channel is 0.30 m. wide and 0.23 m. high.

Inside the building a small vestibule was recovered, (see photo No. 3) divided from the side rooms by thick walls built with a thickness of two blocks, each wall measuring 0.78 m. This seemed to be odd, because the outer wall was built one block thick, so it is most pro bable that the " dividing " walls belonged to an earlier construction and were later adapted to a new building. This hypothesis proved to be true, as during further and deeper excavations, these walls appeared to be founded four metres deeper than the level of outer wall. This outer wall was built upon an earlier stone construction too, but it did not follow exactly the same direction as the wall underneath it. Further examinations revealed that the "dividing" walls were at right angles to this earlier construction and that they were a part of the same structure. At the bottom of a small trial pit dug in the eastern part of the vestibule at level +6,3 m., we reached a channel running east-west. At this depth, in a narrow pit, the work became dangerous and was stopped.

Two rooms at the sides of the vestibule were only partly explored ; they were filled with ash, brickbats and limestone gravel.

This trial pit yielded a mass of clearly stratified potsherds both glazed and plain, being of a great help as an accurate time indicator in other trenches, where the strata were disturbed or where no glazed ware was found to date the strata.

Some regular forms of plain pottery were identified here but much remains to be learned, particularly with regard to the pottery of the early Arab period, and the final working-up of the material cannot be undertaken until further investigations have been made.

Although the vaulted construction expected there did not appear, trench G yielded interesting data for the study of Arab building activities at an early period. The lowest part of the building discovered is obviously of the Roman origin, but its upper part was rebuilt and adapted by early Arabs, and then a paved courtyard with a water-supplying channel was constructed. It would be extremely interesting to complete the excavation of this site, as it seems that this large building was of some importance in its time, and was probably erected for an important person or for public utility. The Roman construction underneath it is of no less interest, as there are not many remains of this period preserved in Alexandria today.

Trench H (see plan No 5) was planned about 25 m. south from the former trench on the highest area of the hill, being approximately at level + 18.75 m. It covers an area 12 m. × 21 m. After removing the usual strata of rubbish about three metres thick where, similarly to pit E, there was hardly any glazed ware, another part of the cemetery was found containing twelve tombs of the usual type, with more than one burial to a tomb. The level of the cemetery was + 15 m. sloping to the west down to level + 14 m. Immediately beneath the tombs a thick stratum of dark ash appeared, mixed with potsherds and brickbats with the occasio nal pockets of sea weeds and sand. This stratum ends at the level of the top of huge limestone wall. (see photo No 4). This wall, two blocks in thickness, runs north-south, bisecting the trench without any turn or entrance in its length. It is two metres high

and consists of six courses of plastered blocks of slightly varying dimensions, their average height and thickness being 30 cms. and length about 40 cms. This wall was evidently dismantled in the past, as in the northern limit of the trench it contains only two courses of blocks, and no loose blocks were found in the vicinity. The wall rests on a solid subsoil foundation, 1.5 m. high, built of blocks of varying dimensions, some of them very small. The level of the foundation is + 8.48 m., the top of the wall+12 m. The total length of the recovered part of the wall is 11.5m. On its western side two adjoining walls were once built, but now only a trace of them was recognized. On this side a crude pavement of concrete mixed with brickbats was found, and at the northern end of it two stone-built narrow rooms appeared sunk deeply below the surface of the pavement. Their uncovering was started, but the walls were so badly preserved that because of danger the work had to be stopped. In this part of the trench a layer of brickbats and potsherds with pockets of clay filled the space between the pavement and the lower limit of the layer of ash. On the eastern side of the wall, loose earth with gravel and thin strata of ash filled the whole space from the bottom of the trench to the top of the wall.

The resultant material from the trial excavations on this site forms an interesting basis for studies of the phases of settlement in this side of Kom el-Dikka. The stratigraphic sequences of pottery are closely parallel to these from the Trench G.

There is every reason to believe that the huge wall was built at the end of Roman period, and was afterwards adapted by the Arab inhabitants of the site as a kind of support for their brick-made houses. Originally the wall was probably a part of a huge enclosure. After the first Arab settlement had been abandoned, the site was used as a dumping ground, probably mainly by glass-makers who were working in the neighbourhood. A great quantity of refuse material from glassmakers workshops seems to prove this theory. Above this three-metre thick layer of ash, the 12th century cemetery was built, and in the following centuries the place was again used as a dumping ground.

It should be mentioned here that the interpretation of the remains discovered during this stage of the work at Kom-el-Dikka has been possible only by comparing the material obtained with the results of recent excavations carried out by the Mission of the Polish Centre of Archaeology.

While digging trenches F and G a large number of Islamic potsherds and pieces of faience-ware was found in the debris, and these were preliminary classified by our colleague Mr. Jussuf el-Gheriani of the Graeco-Roman Museum in Alexandria.

They are as follows :

1. Egyptian-made faience wares dated as of the 11th century A.D. (Fatimid) with metallic lustre.

2. Egyptian-made faience wares dated as of the 13th century A.D. (Mamluk) imitations of Chinese celadon.

3. Foreign-made faience of the 14th-16th centuries A.D :

(*a*) Chinese celadon,
(*b*) Faience wares from Tunisia and Morocco,

4. Glazed wares made in Egypt during the 12th century and later :

(*a*) Wares with incised decoration,
(*b*) Wares with incised decoration in the slip,
(*c*) Decorated glazed wares from different periods,

5. Lamps made of green faience in imitation of Chinese celadon, and lamps of green-glazed red pottery.

This preliminary report can only point out the importance of this area for further archaeological investigation. Probably we have in the area of Kom el-Dikka an unique opportunity to carry on modern stratigraphic excavations in order to complete general historical ideas concerning the evolution of the city of Alexandria from its earliest times.

The remains of the buildings, walls, and other constructions discovered during the present trial excavations cannot be studied separately, but should be considered as details of a general archaeological survey of this area.

1. K.Michalowski : two reports published in Polish : Zaklad Archeologii Srodziemnomorskiej i prace wykopaliskowe na Bliskim Wschodzie w r. 1961, PAN,Nauka Polska, No. 2, Warszawa 1962.

Polskie badania archeologiczne na Bliskim Wschodzie w roku 1961, Sprawozdania z prac naukowych Wydzialu Nauk Spolecznych PAN, rok IV, 1961, zeszyt 4.

2. The pits are marked following the trenches of the Polish Archaeological Mission. There were four main trenches marked A-D.

3. See " Résume des recherches archeologiques faites autour du Fort Kom el-Dikka en Alexandrie " by L.Dabrowski, in the Bulletin de la Faculté des Lettres, Université d' Alexandrie, vol. XIV- 1960 p. 46.

4. See the considerations about similar strata in "Archaeological Excavation at Kom el-Dik, Preliminary Report on the Medieval Pottery", by A. Lane, ibid. vol. V- 1949, p. 144-145.

5. The skeletons collected carefully from the cemetery were the object of anthropological studies made by prof. T. Dzierzykray-Rogalski from the Polish Academy of Sciences, and a detailed analysis of them is printed.

6. The excavations carried on later (July-August 1963) by the Polish Archaeological Mission in the close vicinity of this wall proved that its foundations reach down level+8,35 m., and directly beneath it another structure was found and uncovered to the level + 5,20 m.

7. It seems worth while to mention that the deep archaeological excavations carried out at Kom el-Dikka proved it to be absolutely certain that the present hill was a flat area in antiquity, and that there is not the slightest possibility of locating here, as was commonly believed, the famous Paneum, described by Strabo as a hill with its summit curiously carved into a pine-cone reached by a spiral path.

JADWIGA LIPINSKA AND HENRY RIAD

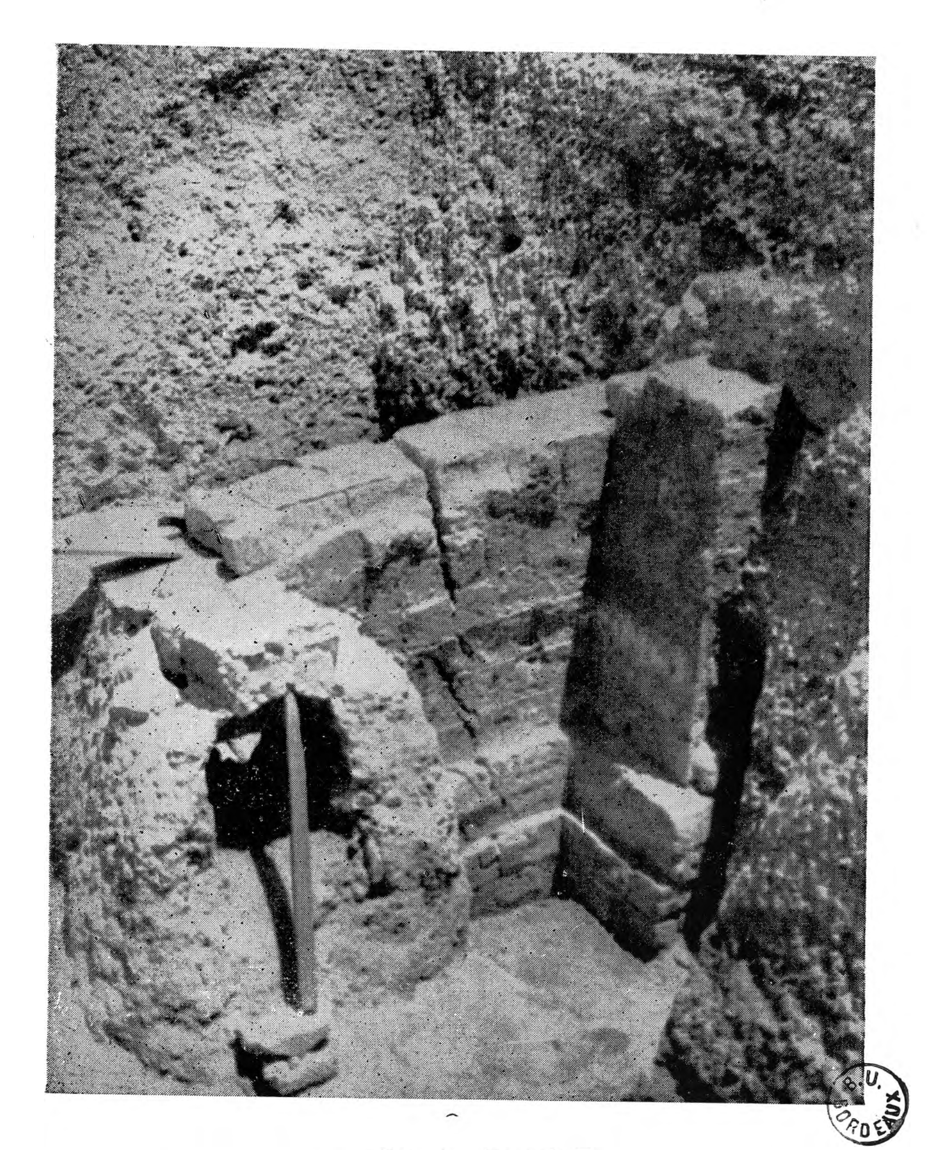


FIG. 1.—Trench F.
Big wall in the north-east corner of the trench.

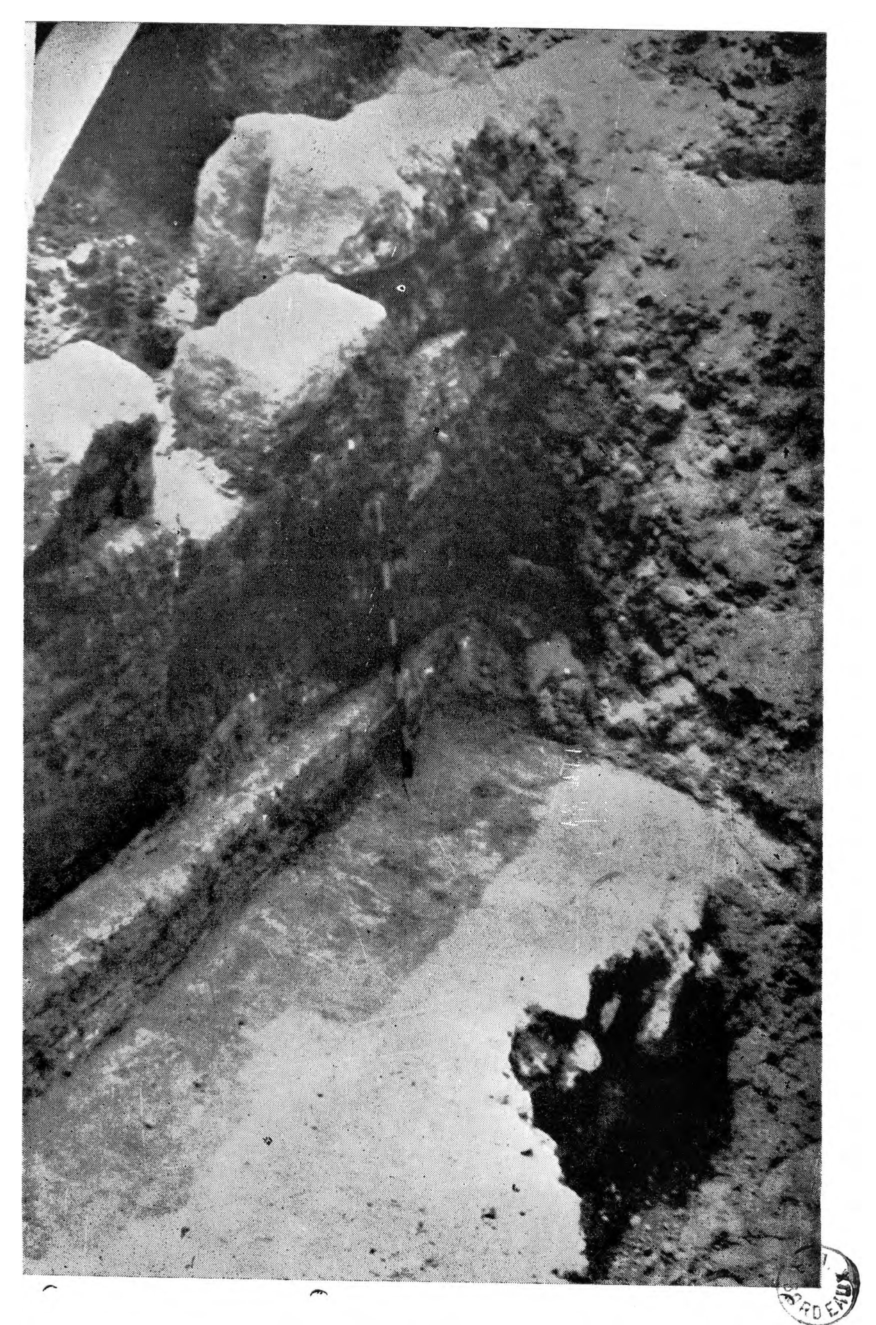


FIG. 2.—Trench G. A part of the pavement and blocked doorway in the outer wall of an early Arab Structure.

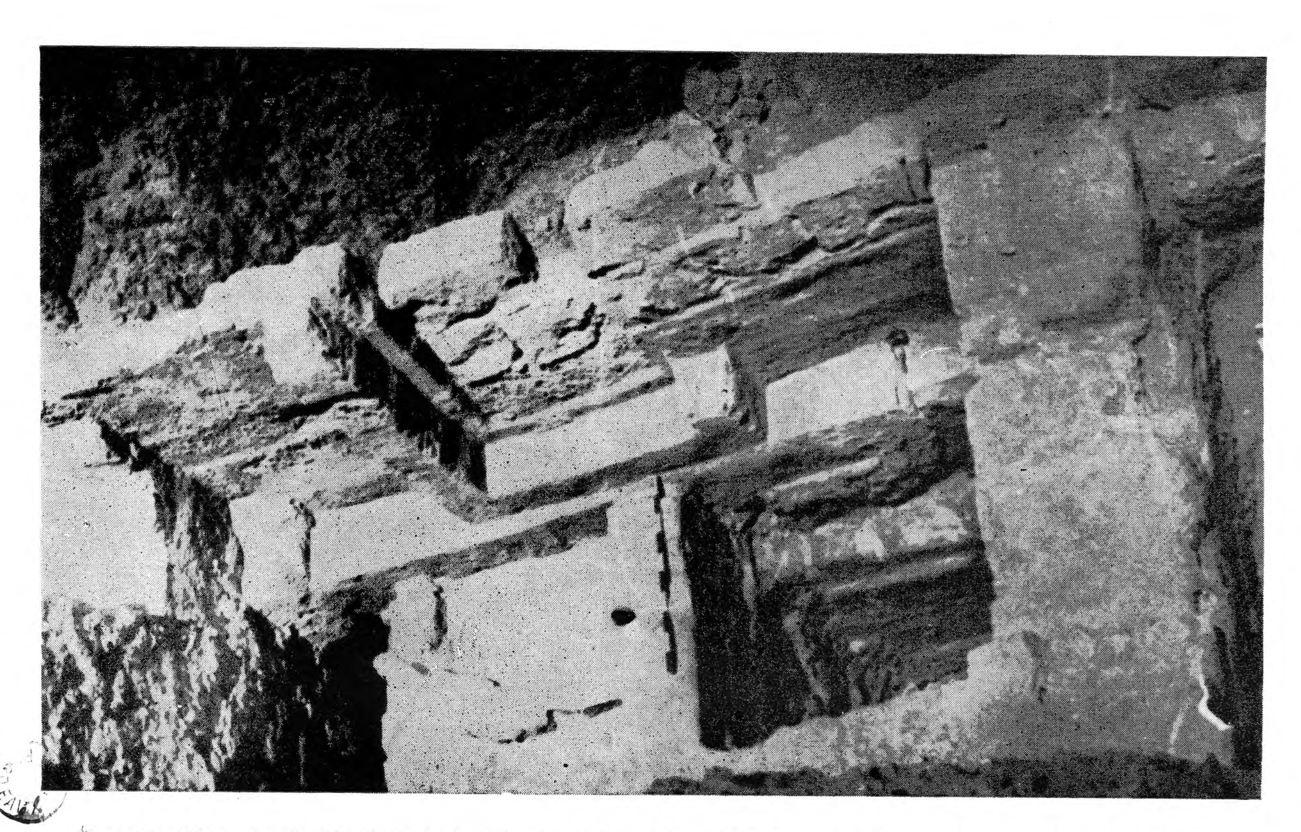


Fig. 3.—Trench G. Vestibule of early Arab Structure with the trial pit dug in its eastern corner.

Pl. III



FIG. 4.—Trench H. Huge wall.

PL. IV

THE HITTITE PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATION OF CONQUERED TERRITORIES

by

Dr. M. ABDUL-QADER MUHAMMED

ABBREVIATIONS

AJA = American Journal of Archaeology.

AJSL = American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures (Chicago 1884-1941).

AMT = Knudtzon, J.A., Die El-Amarna-Tafeln 1-11 (Leipzig, 1915). S. Mercer, The Tell El-Amarna Tablets 1-11 (Toronto, 1930).

ANET = Pritchard, J. B. Ancient Near Eastern Texts. (Princeton, New Jersey 1950).

ASA = Annales Du Service Des Antiquités de l'Egypte (Cairo).

JEA = Journal of Egyptian Archaeology (London).

MVAG= Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-aegyptische Geselschaft (Berlin, 1896—).

TF1 = Treaty between Mursilis 11 and Duppi-Tesup of Amurru. J. Friedrich, Hethitische Texte, II teil 1 p. 1. Götze, in ANET p. 203. Wiedner, Politische Dokumente p. 76.

TF2 = Treaty between Mursilis II and Targašnalliš of Ḫapalla J. Friedrich : *Ibid.* II teil I, p. 51.

TF3 = Treaty between Mursilis II and Kupanta - Kal of Mira and Kuwalija. J. Friedrich : *Ibid.* II teil I, p. 95.

TF4 = Treaty between Mursilis II and Manapa-Dattas of the river Seḫa Land. J. Friedrich : *Ibid.* IV teil II, p. 1.

TF5 = Treaty between Muwattallis and Alaksandus of Wilusa. J. Friedrich : *Ibid.*, IV teil II, p. 43.

TF6 = Treaty between Suppiluliumas and Haqqanas and the people of Hajasa. J. Friedrich : *Ibid.*, IV teil II, p. 103.

TW1 = Treaty between Suppiluliumas and Mattivaza. Wiedner, Politische Dokumente aus Kleinasien, p. 2. Luckenbill in AJSL vol. XXXVII, p. 181. Götze in ANET p. 205 and p. 318.

TW2 = Treaty between Mattivaza and Suppiluliumas. Wiedner : *Ibid.*, p. 36. Luckenbill in AJSL : *Ibid.*, p. 171.

TW3 = Treaty between Suppiluliumas and Tette, King of Nuḫašši Wiedner : *Ibid.*, p. 58. Luckenbill in AJSL : *Ibid.*, p. 177.

TW4 = Treaty between Suppiluliumas and Aziru, King of Amurru. Wiedner : *Ibid.*, p. 70.

TW5 = Treaty between Mursilis and Duppi-Tessup. Wiedner : *Ibid.*, p. 76.

TW6 = Treaty between Mursilis and Rimisharma, King of Aleppo. Wiedner : *Ibid.*, p. 80. Luckenbill, AJSL : *Ibid.*, p. 188.

TW7 = Treaty between Suppiluliumas and Sunassura of Kizzuwatna. Wiedner : *Ibid.*, p. 88. Luckenbill, in AJSL vol. XXXVII (1921) p. 181.

TW8 = Treaty between Hattusilis and Ramses II. Wiedner : *Ibid.*, p. 112.

TW9 Treaty between Hattusilis III and Bentešina, King of Amurru Wiedner : *Ibid.*, p. 124. Luckenbill, in AJSL vol. XXXVII p. 197.

TW10 = Treaty between a King of Hatti and Labʿu and the people of Tunip. Wiedner : *Ibid.*, p. 136.

The Provincial Administration

Old Kingdom :

During the Old Kingdom there were three grades of vassals.

(*a*) Independent ruler tied to the Hittite suzerainty through marriage with one of the daughters of the Hittite king [1].

This was the case of a ruler who accepted to co-operate with the Hittites and peacefully acknowledged their suzerainty.

(*b*) Local rulers, whose countries were conquered and subjugated to Hittite suzerainty, but were retained to take charge of the local government [2].

(*c*) Most of the states which had been conquered and subjugated were annexed to Hatti and were governed by the sons of the Hittite king. The large cities were assigned for their residence [3]. But they were not independent from the central government, for they had to maintain their authority with the support of the whole royal family and the Hittite army [4]. However, there were successful revolts against them [5], and the Hittites had to use force to install their sons back in their places [6].

The New Empire :

The new Empire which was founded by Suppiluliumas was not one coherent organic constitution, but mainly a federal state [7]. It was composed of a number of states tied to the Hittite centre with treaties, political

(1) In AJSL. LVIII, 1941 : R.S. Hardy : *The Old Hittite Kingdom*, p. 187.

(2) AJSL. LVIII. *Ibid.*, p. 186.

(3) Sturtevant and Bechtel : *A. Hittite Chrestomathy : The Proclamation of Telepinus*, p. 183, 3 and 6.

(4) STURTEVANT and BECHTEL : *Ibid*, § 8.

(5) STURTEVANT and BECHTEL : *Ibid*, § 7.

(6) AJSL. LVIII. : *Ibid*, p. 186.

(7) E. CAVAIGNAC.—*Les Hittites*, (Paris 1950). p. 56.

marriages and blood-relationships. Most of these states which were either subjugated peacefully, or conquered in war, remained more or less autonomous. But their foreign policy was controlled and shaped by the Hittite central government.

These satellite-states can be divided into the following groups.

1.— States which chose willingly or peacefully to co-operate with the Hittite king, but remained quite independent and regulated their relations with the Hittites according to treaties.

(*a*) Kizzuwatna which recognized the fact that a war with the Hittites might bring her sovereignty to an end, was compelled to conclude a series of treaties with the Hittite monarchs.

(*b*) Amurru : Aziru of Amurru who perceived the benefits of cooperation with the Hittites decided to conclude with them a treaty, and to ask for their protection, though they were not in a position to sumbit him to their yoke .

2.—A state which the Hittite king conquered, nevertheless, it was not in his interest to keep it in subjection; so on concluding a treaty which would keep this state tied to the Hittite wheel, he withdrew his forces.

Suppiluliumas, after conquering Mitanni, set Mattivaza, king over Mitanni, gave him his daughter in marriage and concluded a treaty with him. One of the main items of the treaty was : " And I commanded that Mattivaza, the king's son, should be in Mitanni and that the daughter of the king of Hatti should be a queen over Mitanni. To thee, Mattivaza, ten women are to be allowed. But no second wife is to be advanced over my daughter...... In Mitanni she shall rule as a queen. The children of Mattivaza and the children of my daughter, their children and their children's children shall

(1) E. CAVAIGNAC.—*Subbiluliuma et son Temps.*, (Paris 1932), pp. 30 and 65.

rule in Mitanni in future days. And in future days, the Mitannian shall plan no rebellion against Mattivaza, the king's son, or my daughter, the king's daughter or against their sons or sons' sons.

3.— A weak state which had surrendered peacefully or was conquered in war.

Its local ruler was reinstalled, or a new local ruler was appointed to govern the state. His authority was limited; he was no longer an independent prince but a governor subjugated to Hittite regulations.

Among these states were Wiluša, Mera, Fluss-seḫa, Ḫajaša, Kuwalija and Kummesmaha.

4.— A state, which was conquered in war, lost its indentity, was outright annexed to the Hittite land, and became a Hittite province.

A very good example of this is Kizzuwanta. At the death of Suppiluliumas, Kizzuwatna rebelled among other countries. Mursilis II conquered it and annexed it outright to Hatti [1].

Mursilis II, in his annals, reported that he had annexed half of the land of Mera to Hatti [2], as well as the land of Iṣtitna [3].

Hattusilis reported also that the lands which were hostile to him, he conquered and annexed district after district to the land of Hatti [4].

Some of these conquered lands were dedicated to the gods [5].

5.—A state which was governed by a Hittite prince of the royal family.

(1) GÖTZE : *Kizzuwatna*, p. 79-80 and AJSL. XXXVII, p. 206 1.20-24.
(2) GÖTZE : *Die Annalen des Muršiliš.*, p. 39 1.31-33.
(3) GÖTZE : *Ibid*, p. 95, 1.90-92.
(4) GÖTZE : *Hattusilis*, 1.56-58.
(5) GÖTZE : *Die Annalen des Muršiliš*, p. 169, 1.15 ff

Aleppo and Carchemish were governed by the two sons of Suppiluliumas.

Hattusilis III, was installed by his brother Muwatalliš as king in the land of Ḫakpiššaš, beside governing many other lands.

Also Hattusilis, after defeating the son of Muwatalliš gave him many cities in the land of Nuḫašša to govern [1].

These princes of the royal family did not conclude treaties with the Hittite kings, but the governing of their dominions were left to their own discretion.

The Duties of the Vassals :

Fortunately for us, the Hittites had concluded with their vassals treaties in which they laid down the rules and regulations which their vassals had to follow, their duties towards their monarch, and the duties of the Hittite monarch towards them.

According to the conditions of these treaties the duties of the vassals are :

The Duties and Obligations

1.—The first duty of the vassal is to be loyal to the king of Hatti land, to his sons, and grandsons [2], also to their brothers (*i.e.* Followers) [3] to recognize him as his overlord [4].

Moreover, the vassal should gaurd the head and the land of the sun as much as he gaurds his own [5] and should guard the sons of the sun as the Hittite king will gaurd his son [6].

(1) GÖTZE.—*Hattusilis*, p. 35.

(2) TF. 1 §, 8; TF. 4, § 4, TF. 5. § 6 and 7 and WGl. 37-44 and TW. 6 reverse 1-10.

(3) TF. 6, § 3.

(4) TF. 6, § 2.

(5) TW. 7, § 56-57, TF. 6, § 3, 4, 5.

(6) TW. 6 reverse 1-10.

He must go to the Hittite king whenever the Hittite king commands him to come into his presence [1], or he must send his son in his place [2]. In another he must go every year [3].

2.—The vassal must present a yearly tribute, the amount of which is fixed by the Hittite king [4], and is unchangeable from year to year [5] and he should present it in person [6].

3.—The vassal must not turn his face to any other country [7], nor recognize any other ruler behind the back of the sun [8], nor pay any tribute to another country [9].

4.—The Hittite king also determines for his vassals how their relation with the other foreign countries should be. " With the freind of the Hittite king, the vassal should be a freind and with the enemy of the Hittite king the vassal must be an enemy " [10].

The Hittite king then goes on to define clearly what he means by the word friends and who are those friends and what the vassal should do in case that those people who have been once his friends should turn hostile against him. He enumerates all the countries that are friendly to him and makes it clear that if any of them turn hostile to him, the vassal should no longer be friendly with it and should remain loyal on the side of the Hittite king and should protect him.

(1) TF. 4, § 6.

(2) TW. 7, Coll. 1. 45-48.

(3) TW. 4, 1, 1.3-4 and TW. 3 Coll. 11.1-5.

(4) TF. 1, § 8, TW. 3 Coll. II, 1-5, W. 4, 1-2.

(5) TF. 1 § 8.

(6) TW. ?, Coll. II, 1-5, W. 4 3-4.

(7) TF. 1, § 8, TF. 3, § 11. TF. 5, § 9.

(8) TF. 6, § 3.

(9) TF. 1, § 8.

(10) TF. 1, § 9, TW, 7 § 1. l. 64, TF. 5, § 12, TF. 2, § 6, l. 33-34, § 3. TF. 3, § 18, TW. 3 Coll. II, 1.6, TW. 9, 1-4, TW 4, l. 5-11. TF. 6, § 13.

5.—The Hittite king also exacted from his vassal military help[1].

(*a*) Against internal revolution in Hatti land.

(*b*) Against an attack on Hatti made by a foreign country.

(*c*) Against an attack on the vassal of the Hittite king made by a foreign power.

(*d*) To fight with the Hittite king outside Hatti itself and outside the vassal's land against an enemy who starts hostilies against the sun.

(*e*) To accompany the Hittite king in a war in a foreign country, or to go on marauding with one of his commanders in a foreign country.

(*a*) Against internal revolution in Hatti Land[2] :

The Hittite king inserts in almost all his treaties with the vassals, and even sovereign states like Egypt with whom he made a treaty, that they should come to his help with foot-soldiers and charioteers as soon as they heard of any revolt against him. If the revolt is not serious they could wait until the Hittite king sent for help; but if it is serious they must go immediately to the aid of the Hatti land, and if the vassal is not able to go, he could dispatch his son or his brother with the soldiers and charioteers, and the vassal should not be lenient unto the enemies even if they had been his friends, or speak any words against the Hittite king.

(*b*) Against an attack on Hatti made by a hostile country[3].

(1) This was also mentioned in the annals of Mursilis II by Götze. p. 25, 41- 42; p. 27, 1. 47-8, p, 45, 1. 22, p. 75, 1.26, p. 77 1.31, p. 153 1. 3-5 ; also the people of the conquered countries whom he had carried off to Hatti, he made them into fighting soldiers, p. 131, 1·49-51, p. 137., 1.25. He also used mercenaries in his armies *see* AJSL. LVIII, p. 201.

(2) F. 1, § 9, 10.; TF. 2 § 3, 4 ; TF. 3 § 16, 17 ; TF. 5 § 14, 10, TW. 7, II, 26-28 and 63-69 ; III 7-10, 14-15. TF. 6, § 14, 39-40, TW. 4, 1.22-29 ; TW. 9, 1.15-16 ; TW. 3, 11, 48-56.

(3) TW. 7, II, 63-69 ; III, 7-10 ; TF. 6. § 14, TW 3, II, 7-20, F. 1, § 9.

(*c*) Against an attack on the vassal of the Hittite king made by a foreign power[1].

If an enemy approaches the vassal's country or attacks it, the vassal must write either to the Hittite king or to the Hittite commander who is in the vassal's land.

The vassal should not be lenient against the enemy but he should fight the enemy and do not let him go free but capture him. If the vassal asks for troops and charioteers to come to his aid and the Hittite king send these troops and charioteers or the commander of the Hittite army who is in his terriotory comes to his help, the vassal must fight with them whole heartedly and must not surrender them to the enemy nor speaks any words against the Hittite king. The Hittite king, consequently, considers that the enemy who attacks the vassal's country is an enemy to the Hittite king[2].

(*d*) To fight with the Hittite king outside Hatti itself and outside the vassal's land against a country which starts hostiliy against the sun.

If a land starts hostility against the Sun, the Sun will march out to punish them and if he asks for mustered troops from his vassals, the vassals should send them[3].

In one case, he gives the liberty to Šanuššara, king of Kizzuwatna, the freedom to allow the Hittite king to take his soldiers with him or keep them guard at home. And if they are allowed to go with the Hittite king, whatever they capture they shall take, and on the same grounds the Hittite king will send to Šanuššara troops for his help whenever he asks for[4].

(*e*) To accompany the Hittite king in a war against a foreign country, or to go on marauding with one of his commanders in a foreign country[5].

(1) TF. 3, § 28 ; TF. 5, & 17 ; TW. 9, 20-22 ; TW. 7, I, 65-72 ; II, 11-15 ; TF. 2, §3, 11, 12, 13 ; TF. 1 § 11.

(2) TW. 7, 11, 2-6.

(3) TW. 7, II, 42-45 ; TF. 2, § 4 ; TF. 3, § 19 ; TF. 6, § 41.

(4) TW. 7, II, 46-62.

(5) TW. 7, IV, 19-24 ; TF. 5, § 14 ; TF. 1, §9 ; TW. 9, 5-11, TW. 4, 1.12-18 ; TW. 3, II, 20-32 ; TF. 6, § 12.

The Hittite king demands from his vassal a military help in his wars in foreign countries and he fixes for him the number of soldiers he should provide and insists that he should go beside him on the battle-field and he has to accompany him not only in the neighbouring countries, but also in distant lands. Moreover, the Hittite king promises to provide these troops with their ration, the moment they reached the Sun but this is only mentioned in Šanuššara's Treaty.

The Hittite king also demands from his vassal to fight whole-heartedly and must not be lenient with the enemy and must not send information to the enemy about the campaign or speaks any words against the Hittite king or doubt the Hittite king's success or the vassal's fate.

6.—Treatment of the Hittite Army : The vassal should provide the Hittite soldiers who pass through his country or who come to his help, or who were left with him as a military colony, with food and drink, should protect them, treat them well and guard them as well as he guards his own person, his own house, and his people who live with them[1].

And consequently if that army engaged in any misconduct-pilfering in his country or his towns or in any attempt at deposing the vassal from his kingship, it acts in disregarding of the oath[2].

The Hittite king also decides for his vassal how to treat the soldiers in case one may flee into the vassal's land, or may fall ill, or is stollen, and defines what the vassal would do in each case[3].

7.—If any prince, high commander, brother of the king, commander of a fortress, palace-official, a foot-soldier or a charioteer has rebelled against the Hittite king and then has escaped to the vassal's country,

(1) TF. 1, § 11 and 12 ; TF. 2, § 5 ; TF. 3, §20.
(2) TF. 1, § 12.
(3) TF. 2, § 13.

the vassal must capture him and deliver him back to the Hittite king. He must not collaborate with him, but should stand beside the Hittite king and come to his aid if necessary[1].

8.—The vassal must report at once any one who utters hostile words against the Hatti king, or intends to make revolts, or has actually made revolt, be it a man or city[2]. But if the vassal himself undertake such a revolt or help somebody to undertake the task in his place, the oath will annihilate him[3].

9.—If anybody informed the vassal that the Hittite king had evil intentions against him, or tried to incite him against the Hittite king, the vassal should at once write to the Hittite king who will answer him about the concerned matter. And the vassal should be content and entertain no evil thoughts against the Hittite king, because this man who incites the vassal against the Hittite king is an enemy to him and likewise should be an enemy to the vassal.

So the vassal should not hide these words from the king and should write to him at once or else he would be disloyal[4].

On the other hand, the vassal should not convey the words or the intentions of the Hittite king whether it is to the benefit of the concerend man, city or country or against it[5].

10.—The vassal must execute the orders of the Hittite king without delay ; if the vassal cannot execute the order of the Hittite king, he should state this at once. But if he does not execute the orders, or deceive the king concerning its execution, he shall be disloyal to the oath.

(1) TF. 2, § 2 ; TF. 3, § 13, 14, 15 ; TF. 4, § 9 ; TF. 6. § 39, 40 ; TW. 7, I, 65-72 ; TF. 5, § 9 l. 49-57.

(2) TF. 1, § 14 ; TF. 3, § 18 ; TF. 5, § 11, 12, 13 ; TF. 6, § 14, 15, 18 ; TW. 7, II, 16-18, 22-23, 39-41 ; III, 25-27.

(3) TF. 6, § 17.

(4) TF. 5, § 15 ; TF. 3, § 18, 21, 22 ; TF. 2, § 6 ; TF, 1., § 14.

(5) TF. 6, § 28.

Moreover, the order which the king has given him in secret, must not be conveyed away [1].

11.—Extradition of fugitives :—

(*a*) If a country or a fugitive is taking the road to the Hatti land, the vassal in whose country they pass should welcome them and put them on the right track to the Hatti land [2].

(*b*) If the deportees of a country which the Hittite king removed escape and come to the vassal's country, the vassal must capture them and return them back to the Hatti land. If a fugitive of the country of Hatti escape and come to the vassal's country, the vassal should capture him and return him back to the king and should not allow him to stay in the land [3].

(*c*) The vassal should capture any fugitive who comes to his country [4].

(*d*) The vassal should not lay hand on, or conceal any fugitive from a country which the Hittite king had attacked and put its people to the flight unless he has got permission from the king [5].

(*e*) If out of the vassal's country a man of long sword, or a noble man has escaped into the Hatti country, the Hatti king will not deliver him back to his vassal ; but if a farmer or a weaver or carpenter or leather-worker or whatever craftsman may be, and had not delivered his work and escape to the Hatti land, the Hittite king will sieze him and send him back to the vassal [6].

12.—In the treaties of Mursilis II with Targasnellis of Ḫapalla [7] ; Mursilis II with Kapanta-Kal of Mira & Kiwalija [8] ; and of Muwattallis with Alaksandus of Wilusa [9].

(1) TF. 1, § 14.
(2) TF. 1, § 15.
(3) TF. 1, § 13; TF. 2, § 14 & 7; TF. 5, § 18; TF. 3, § 23; TF. 4, § 4; TF. 6, § 33-34.
(4) TF. 1, § 17: TF. 3, § 29 ; TF. 2, § 7.
(5) TF. 1, § 16.
(6) TF. 2, § 7.
(7) TF. 2, § 9-10-11.
(8) TF. 3, § 27.
(9) F.T 5, 17 §

The Hittite king defines for his vassals the nature of their relation with the two other neighbours mentioned in each treaty and that they should neither quarrel nor intrigue against each other, that they should not be friends with any other neighbouring country, if it is hostile to any of them, that the Hittite king will settle for them their disbutes and his judgment is final.

13.—The vassal should not receive any messenger from a country which is hostile to Hatti land or send any messenger to it. And if any messenger comes to him from this country he should seize him [1].

V. Korośec pointed out that in the treaty of Ištarmuwaš, the Hittite king Tudḫalijaš IV recognized the importance of trade on the economy of other foreign countries and that one could influence the policy of another country by bringing about trade-political pressure. Consequently he ordered the vassals of Amurru to break off their trade-relations with Assyria. This was the first act of boycotting in the ancient word [2]. His command was : (1.14-19). "Thy merchant should not go in the land of Aššur and their merchant would not be allowed into thy land. Through thy land, he should not penetrate. If he comes in thy land, seize him and send him to my Sun. "

14.—The Hittite king mentions in these treaties that it is he who gives the vassal his country to govern and it is he who defines his boundaries for him. Moreover, he orders him not to exceed them, nor try to transgress the boundaries of the Hatti land [3].

15.—That this treaty does not rest on reciprocity, because you (the vassal) are a subject of the land of Hatti ; now he should not plot evil against the Hittite king and the Sun wil not do him any evil [4] .

(1) TW7, IV 25-31.
(2) Dr. V. KOROŠEC : *Hethitische Verträge* 1931, p. 74-76.
(3) TF. 3, § 3, 9 & 10 : TF. 4, § 5 & 10 ; TF. 5, § 17 ; TF. 2, § 13 W7, IV. 1.40,66. *Der. Alte Orient.* Dr. J. FRIEDRICH : *Aus dem Hethitische Schriftum*, p. 19.
(4) TF. 5, § 19 1. 76-79.

The Obligations of the Hittite King Towards his Vassal

The Hittite king, in order to ensure the fidelity of his vassal granted him certain rights which do not contradict with his policy.

1.—The Hittite king will be loyal towards his vassal, as long as the vassal remains loyal to him, and will protect him, and his son and grandsons against any internal revolution and he shall replace him back to his place if the lands reject him. He also will protect his land[1].

2.—The Hittite king promises his vassal that he will make the vassal's son whom the vassal's chooses to be his heir a king after him and will protect him and will not accept anybody else[2]. And this is particulary emphasized when the vassal married a daughter of the Hittite king[3].

3.—If an enemy attacks the vassal's country, the Hittite king will send, on the request of his vassal, foot-soldiers and charioteers for his help.

4.—He who is hostile to the vassal, shall be hostile to the Hittite king. Moreover, if anyone attemps to kill the vassal and escapes into the Hatti land the king will capture him and hand him over to his vassal[5].

Hittite Policy and Security Measures

The Hatti land, as expressed in the edict of Telepinus, was small[6], while it was surrounded all round its borders by powerful and dangerous enemies, Kizzuwatna and Arzawa to the south, to the north and west were unfriendly tribes, notable among them were the Gasgas, to the east the powerful Hurrian countries, in Syria the Egyptians.

(1) TF. 1, § 8 ; TF. 6, § 42, 43 ; TW7 1.49-52 & 55. TF. 3, § 11 ; TF. 2, § 8 ; TF. 5, § 7 ; TW. 9 28-33.

(2) TF. 1, § 8 ; TW. 6 reverse 15-16 ; TW. 7, 1. 52-54 ; TF. 5, § 6 & 7. TW. 9, 1. 21-33.

(3) TW. 9. 1 16-21 ; TW. 1, 1. 59-67.

(4) TW. 7 51-55 ; TF. 2, § 21 ; TW. 9, 20-22 ; TW. 4. 1. 27-30 ; TF. 1, § 11.

(5) TF. 2, § 6, 8 ; TF. 3, § 24 ; TF. 5, § 7.

(6) STURTEVENT & BECHTEL : *A Hittite Chistomathy*, p. 183-, § 2.

Could the Hittite be match to all these countries, if they united together against them ? The answer was naturlly not in their favour, and Suppiluliumas when he started on this imperial conquest, was aware of the critical situation. In dealing with them he had adopted the deliberate policy of " one battle-front ".

This is well-illustrated in his policy towards Egypt, Mitanni and Kizzuwatna.

Egypt

Suppiluliumas did his best to avoid an open clash with Egypt[1]. While he pretended to be friendly to the Egyptian king and sent him presents[2], like his ancestors who had sent gifts to Thutmosis III[3], and to Amenophis II,[4] and concluded with him a treaty[5] he plotted the ruin of the Egyptian Empire in Syria[6] and set about encouraging the anti-Egyptian profiteers to attack the cities of the Phoenician coast untill one by one Byblos Simyra, Tyre and Sidon fell or went over to the enemy[7].

However, as soon as the religious revolution of Akhnaton was over and order was restored to Egypt, Sety I renewed the efforts to consolidate the empire and to regain the lost territories. He was able to conquer the whole of Palestine and Syria as far as the Orentes valley, and to defeat the Hittite Muwattallis in two battles, one in Kadesh, then in a battle north of Kadesh in his last campaign[8]. But the Hittite hostilities did not cease, and Ramses II had to renew the fight. In

(1) E. CAVAIGNAC.—*Subbiluliuma et son temps*, (Paris 1932), p. 30.

(2) AMT, 41 & 42.

(3) E. CAVAIGNAC.—*Ibid*, p. 4.

(4) ASA, XLII, p. 23.

(5) *Syria*, XXXIII, 1956 ; E. CAVAIGNAC.—*L'Egypte et les Hittites de* 1370 *a* 1345, p. 43.

(6) H. R. HALL in JEA, VII, p. 44.

(7) MARGERET S. DROWER : *The Political Approach to the Classical World* in *The Legacy of Egypt*, by S.R. GLANVILLE (Oxford 1942), p. 36-37, and Amarna letters.

(8) DRIOTON & J. VANDIER : *L'Egypte*, (Paris 1952), p. 420-1 and C.E. SANDER-HANSEN : *Historische Inschriften der* 19 *Dynostie*, p. 10, 1. 10 ff, and p. 11, 1.16.

his second campaign he advanced as far as Kadesh, (Pl.I) but the Hittite Muwattallis who had experienced the bitter taste of defeat at the hands of the Egyptians was frightened and had to restore to interigue. He gathered the armies of every country, hid himself behind the fortress of Kadesh, and tried to ambush Ramses II, but he failed and was defeated and the king of Aleppo was thrown into the river. Major A.H. Burne, R.A., attribute this to the lack of that higher gift in a leader : nerve and resolution at the critical moment[1].

That the battle of Kadesh was a defeat to the Hittite king is a fact which cannot be denied[2]. However, Ramses II again returned to Syria and penetrated as far as Naharin and inflicted upon the Hittite king another defeat in Tunip[3].

In the letter to the king of Babylon, Hattusilis acknowledged this defeat and answered that he had no longer jurisdiction over Amurru and Ugarit. In accordance with this, a stela from the same period was found in the ruins of the temple of Baal, upon which an Egyptian of high rank was represented making offerings to the god Baal, the god of Ugarit[4].

Again, Merenptah, who succeeded Ramses II, made victorious campaigns in Palestine and Syria and maintained his authority over Ugarit. This was varified by a sword, found in Ugarit and inscribed with the name of this king by the famous Israelite stala and by the Karnak Inscription[5].

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(1) JEA, VII, p. 194 ff.

(2) The tablet of Boghazköy which is the only Hittite source about Muwattallis's war with Egypt was not written by himself, but by his brother Hattusilis some years later after the death of Muwattallis, and the name of Kadesh was not mentioned on it. It could not, therefore, be trusted, particularly as Hattusilis committed a similar anachronism in relating the history of the relation between Kizzuwatna and Hatti. *See* Götze : *Kizzuwatna and The Problem of Gittite Heography*, p. 26.

(3) E. DRIOTON & J. VANDIER : *Ibid*, p. 425.

(4) S.R.K. GLANVILLE : *Ibid*, p. 39 ; & C. SCHAEFFER : *The Cuneiform Texts of Ras-Shamra-Ugarit*, p. 25.

(5) SCHEAFFER : *Mission de Ras Shamra*. Tom VIII. *Ugaritica* III. (Paris 1956), p. 173 ff.

Mitanni

Before conquering Mitanni, Suppiluliumas spent twenty years (1378-1358 according to E. Cavaignac) establishing order in Asia Minor[1].

Tudhaliyas III and Suppiluliumas as well conquered the rebelious tribes of the Gasgas, and Hajasa. Marijas of Hajasa was deposed and Haqqanas was installed in his place ; a treaty was concluded between the two countries and was cemented by the marriage of Suppiluliumas's sister to Hakkunas[2].

Suppiluliumas also succeeded in securing Kizzuwatna, ally of Mitanni, on his side and concluded a treaty with Sunaššuraš, recognizing him as king, and thus secured his friendship[3].

Meanwhile, Suppiluliumas endeavoured to maintain good relations with the king of Egypt[4], and concluded a treaty with Akhnaton recognizing his suzerainty over Amurru and Kinza, district of Kadesh[5].

Suppiluliumas then conquered Mitanni and put on its throne a new king Mattivaza with whom he concluded a treaty which acknowledged Hittite suzerainty over Mitanni.

Kizzuwatna

Now, when an alliance with Mitanni was secured, the Hittite king was able to have a free hand in dealing with Kizzuwatna. But Suppiluliumas prefered to wait, and to complete its isolation with the capture of the two powerfur strongholds Aleppo and Carchamish in north Syria[6].

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(1) E. CAVAIGNAC.—*Subbiluliuma et Son Temps*, p. 33.

(2) TF. 6.

(3) E. CAVAIGNAC.—*Ibid*, p. 17.

(AMT. 41, 42.

(5) E. CAVAIGNAC.—*Les Hittites*, (Paris 1950), p. 26.

(6) O. R. GURNEY.—*The Hittites*, (Paris 1952), p. 30.

Then Mursilis, after Suppiluliumas's death, conquered Kizzuwatna and annexed it outright to Hatti, and Kizzuwatna became a Hittite district [1]. Freed from the strong powers of Mitanni and Kizzuwatna, the Hittites were ready to meet the Egyptian army on the battlefield. (see p. 15).

Isolation

Suppiluliumas initiated the deliberate policy of isolating the big states bordering his country, or rather separeting one from the other by means of wedges, so that they would not unite together and attack Hatti, as did happen before his succession to the throne.

" In earlier days the Hatti countries were sacked from outside countries. The Kaskean enemy came and sacked the Hatti countries and made Nenassa his frontier. Towards the Lower Country came the Arzawean enemy, and he too sacked the Hatti countries, and made Tuwanuwa and Uda his frontier. From afar, the Araunnean enemy came and sacked the whole of the country Gaššiya. From afar the Azzian enemy came and sacked all the Upper [Countries], and he made Samuha his frontier. The Isuwean [enemy] came [and] sacked the [country] Tegarama. From afar, the Armatanean enemy [came], and he too sacked the Hatti countries and he [made] Kizzuwatna, the city his [frontier]. And [Hattiuša], the city was burned down and [only] ..... and, the hestihouse of .... escaped [2].

For the execution of this policy, Suppiluliumas, did not only cut Kizzuwatna from its neighbours on the east and south by forcing a corridor to Kargamish and Ḫalpa [3], but also on the west. In the treaty concluded between him and the king of Kizzuwatna, he reserved to the Hittites the territory on the western side of the frontier

(1) A. GOETZE.—*Kizzuwatna*, p. 79, ff.

(2) E. CAVAIGNAC : *Ibid*, p. 10 and A. GOETZE. : *Ibid*, p. 22.

(3) J. GARSTANG and O.R. GURNEY.—*The Geography of the Hittite Empire* London, 1959, p. 50.

from the sea at Lamiya which is equated with the Lamos, river upwards as far as Saliya [1], By this he drove a strong wedge between Kizzuwatna and other western countries.

Mursilis 11, later on, followed the same policy in his attempt to reach the black sea. As is recoreded in his annals of the seventh year he overran the land of Tibya [2] and probably reached the sea at Ordu. At the same time he drove by holding this port a wedge between the Kingdom of Azzi and his enemies of the north [3].

Later, with the coming of the Acheans, Hattusilis 111 made use of the " Royal Road " to the west, whose southern branch led down to the Maeander Valley, to prevent their political union with Arzawa [4].

Buffer States

Moreover, to strengthen the position of Hatti itself, and to be secure against the aggression of any powerful country, the Hittites surrounded their country with smaller states.

Between the powerful country of Arzawa and Hatti, they encouraged the existence of Mira, Kawalia and Ḫappala, which acted as buffer states [5]; Karkisa and Mesa, existing from the time of Suppiluliumas onwards, acted as buffer-states between the central province and other western countries [6].

Mitanni itself played the same role. When Suppiluliumas conquered it and secured its alliance, he allowed it to continue its existance to act as a buffer-state between his country and the newly rising power of Assur. Azirru of Amurru was more or less in the same category.

(1) AJA XLVII, 1943; GARSTANG.—*Hittite Military Roads in Asia Minor*, p. 37.

(2) A. GÖTZE.—*Die Annale* Des Murailis, p. 87.

(3) AJA, XLIII GARSTANG : *Ibid*, p. 39.

(4) AJA, XLVII : *Ibid*, p. 39.

(5) AJA, XLVII : *Ibid*, p. 39.

(6) J. GARSTANG and O.R. GURNEY.—*The Geography of the Hittite Empire.* (London 1959), p. 107-8.

He was all the time fluctuating between his loyalty to the Egyptian king and his friendship with the Hittites. He was accused of all intrigue and disturbance, and the blame had gone to him instead of the Hittites, the actual initiators of agitation in this area.

In fact, the whole of Syria was all the time acting as noman's land between the two frontiers of Egypt and Hatti.

The Appointment of New Chiefs

In order to make their grip firmer over these conquered regions the Hittites had to exercise direct control over their governments. They attained this by employing diverse methods, each should be appropriate to the particular circumstances and conditions of the conquered territory.

The most effective among these was the appointment of their sons and brothers governors for the conquered countries. This method was introduced by the early Hittite kings as is indicated in the edict of Telepinus(1).

This policy was followed by the later kings as well. Suppiluliumas appointed his two sons Telepinus and Bijassilis vassal kings in Aleppo and Carchemish. Muwattallis, too, appointed his brother king in the land of Hakpissas beside governing those countries which constituted the whole north-eastern provinces of the realm(2) while Muwatallis, who was much occupied with military operations in north Syria, shifted his residence to the southern city Datassa. Later on when Hattusilis deposed Urhitesup as the legitimate king, and declared himself king, he entrusted the deposed king with the rule of the fortified towns in the country of Nuhasse(3).

However, with the expansion of the Empire, this policy became impracticable, and the Hittites had to resort to other methods.

(1) STURTEVANT & BECHTEL.—*Ibid*, p. 183.
(2) GÖTZE.—Hattusilis § 8.
(3) GÖTZE.—*Ibid*, § 11.

In countries which did not wage a war against the Hittite king, but accepted co-operation with him, and acknowledged his suveraínty, the Hittite king confirmed the reigning rulers in their places, for example the king of Kizzuwatna, Azirru and Duppi-Tissup of Amuru.

But in the countries whose chiefs had waged war against him, those chiefs, if they had not run away, would be taken prisoners, and new chiefs would be appointed in their places(1).

This newly appointed king would not necessarily be of a big family ; he might be simply a servant of the fallen king like Takib-sar whom Suppiluliumas placed him over Ukulzat(2).

If there was a rebellion in one of these countries, and a new prince was able to drive the legitimate king away and set himself in his place, the Hittite king would receive the deposed king, supported him and helped him to drive away the usurper and restore him to the throne. Thus he would always be a tool in the hand of the Hittite king. Naturally such a vassal would not break away from the way of the Hittite king who always reminded his vassal of his military support while the vassal himself could no longer rely on his own people for fear of further revolts which might broke out against him(3).

An excellent example was Mattivaza of Mittani, son of Tušratta, who was driven by Shutarna. The Hittite king invaded Mittanni with Mattivaza in his train, and after defeating the rebles, he set Mattivaza on the throne, gave him his daughter in marriage and concluded a treaty with him(4).

Moreover, in these states no prince could succeed his father without the approval of the Hittite king, who claimed the right to confirm the successor or to appoint

(1) GÖTZE.—*Die Annalen des Murailis*, p. 73, l. 22-23, p. 75, l. 24-25, p. 125, 1, 12.-16 E. CAVAIGNAC.—*Subbiliuma et Son Temps*, pp. 16.23.27, 32.
(2) ANET, p. 318.
(3) GÖTZE.—Heft IV.—*Die Reste Vertrages Muršiliš* II mit Manapa-Dataš, § 1, Heft III. Madduwattaš, p. 3, *Die Annale Des muršiliš*, p. 67, l. 4-5.
(4) TW., p. 17-19.

whomever he wanted in his place [1]. In the preambles of the treaties, the Hittite king always reminded his vassal of the favour which the former had conferred on him in his act of recognizing the vassal formerly as a crown prince to his father and then of appointing him a vassal king; while the Hittite king could dispose of him and appoint somebody else who would be more obedient to the Hittite authority and be more capable in carrying the work entrusted to him.

In a strong country like Kizzuwatna, which was probably more highly civilized than their relatives the Hittites [2], and which accepted to co-operate peacefully with the Hittites, Suppiluliumas only appointed his son Telepinus priest of Kizzuwatna and imposed upon him certain regulations which he had to follow [3]. These regulations are very similar to the conditions of the treaties which the Hittite king concluded with his vassals.

Diplomatic Marriages

Diplomatic marriages were very popular at that time not only between vassals and their overlords, but also between the reigning kings of the great powers. The Hittites made good use of it. We find the first trace of this during the Old Kingdom. A certain Zalpas apparently married a daughter of a Hittite king, as an act of submission. But later, as the first act of rebellion, she was killed [4].

The same policy was followed in the New Empire. Suppiluliumas married his sister to the chief of Azzi-Hayasa in order to secure his alliance [5].

Suppiluliumas himself who regarded the Acheans as his equals and hoped for peaceful relation between the two people, married an Achean princess [6].

(1) ANET, p. 203-4, § 7, and TF 5, § 5, p. 51.
(2) JEA, VII. R.H. Hall, p. 42.
(3) GÖTZE.—*Kizzuwatna*, p. 12 ff. That if we accept the view that Kummani was still a part of Kizzuwatna.
(4) AJSL, LVIII, p. 187.
(5) TF. 6, § 29.33.
(6) E. CAVAIGNAC.—*Ibid*, p. 41.

When Suppiluliumas conquered Matanni and returned Mattivaza the deposed king to the throne of his father, the alliance between the two kings was cemented with the marriage of the Mitannian king to Suppiluliumas's daughter who would become queen of Mitanni. Through her the Hittite king could keep an eye on the activities of Mitanni and at the same time would secure the alliance of Mitanni against the rising power of Assur. For these reasons, Suppiluliumas conferred on his daughter special privileges that she should be the queen of Mitanni, that no second wife should be advanced over her, or should come into her presence, that she should rule as queen and that the descendants of her children and grandchildren should rule in Mitanni in future days [1].

Also in the annals of Mursilis, he mentioned that when Mašhuiluwas of Mira escaped and came as fugitive to his father, his father received him and gave him his daughter in marriage [2].

Muwattallis gave his sister in marriage to Masturis, the son of Manapa-Dattas and made him king of Seha river land [3].

Hattusilis III married his son to the daughter of Bantishina, and the king's daughter Gaššulijauie to Bente-šina in order to become queen of Amurru. In the conditions of the treaty concluded between the two kings, it was stated that kingship in Amurru should belong to the son and grandson of the daughter of the Hittite king for all time [4].

In the Egyptian version of the treaty between Ramses II and the Hittites, Hattusilis's queen Pudu-Hepa was called "daughter of Kizzuwatna [5]. Though there is no authentic proof that she belonged to the royal family yet " it is, nevertheless, possible that she was indirectly of royal

(1) TW. 1.
(2) GÖTZE.—*Die Annalen des Mursilis* Rs, IV. 1. 38-41.
(3) W. GARSTANG & O.R. GURNEY.—*The geography of the Hittite Empire*, p. 95.
(4) W. 9, 1. 16-12.
(5) ANET, p. 201 and W. MULLER in MVAG, VII (1902).

ancestory and the marriage pursued a certain political purpose namely to legalize in a peaceful way the annextion of Kizzuwatna by Hatti which had long since taken place (1).

Moreover, Hattusilis 111, after concluding a peace-treaty with Ramses 11, gave him his daughter in marriage and accompanied her to Egypt where a great festival was held to celebrate the occasion.

Treaties and Oaths of Fealty

In order to keep his vassals and their subjects in restraint the Hittite king exacted from the people oaths of fealty for the rulers whom he appointed over them (2) and with the rulers of the vassal-states he concluded treaties (3)

(1) GÖTZE.—*Kizzuwatna*, p. 80. ff.

(2) GÖTZE.—*Die Annalen des Mursilis*, p. 73 1. 22-25, p. 125 I. 12-16, p. 139, 1. 38-40, p. 145.1.15-16.

(3) The subject is discussed in : Dr. V. KOROŠEC.—*Hethitische Staat Verträge* (1931). Schachermeyr : *Zur* Staatsrechlichen Wertung der hethitischen Verträge in Meissners. Festschrift 11, 180-186 leipzig 1929. For the transliteration and translation of these texts see J. FRIEDRICH.—in *Hethische Text. Staatsverträge des Hatti-Reiches in hethitische Sprache.* Heft II, Teil I and Heft IV Teil II and ERNEST. E.WEIDNER.—*Politische Dokumente aus Kleinasien* (1923). In *Boghazkoi-Studies Heft* 8-9. GOTZE.—*Kizzuwatna* (1940)., parts of treaties.

FOR TRANSLATION :

The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures. Vol. XXXVII. D.D. Luckenbill, Hittite Treaties and Letters, p. 161 ff.

PRITCHARD.—*Ancient Near Eastern Text*;. GÖTZE.—*Hittite Treaties*, p. 201 ff and 318. Journal of Egyptian Archaeology, Vol. VI. (1920).

S. LANGDON & ALAN GARDINER.—*The treaty of Alliance between Ḫattusulis* king of the Hittites, and the Pharaoh Ramses II of Egypt.,

The transliteration and translation of the Hittite-Babylonian version is given in comparison with the Egyptian translation. The translation of the Egyptian text is also given in Pritchard, *Ancient Near Eastern Texts.* WILSON.—*Egyptian Treaty*, p. 199 ff.

A list of the treaties are given in the abbreviation-list with the exception of the following.

Fragments of Treaty between Telepinus King of Hatti and Išputaḫšuš, King of Kizzuwatna, in Götza ; Kizzuwatna, p. 75.

Fragments of Treaty between a King named Arnuwandaš and the nobleman of Išmirik, in GÖTZE. *Ibid*, p. 76.

Fragments of Treaties in Wiedner : Politische Dokumente aus Kleinasien, p. 146.

Treaty between Tudhaliyas IV and Ištarmuwaš of Amurru KUB XXIII, 1. Saemerenyi, O. Acta Societatis Hungaricae Orientalis, IX (1945), p. 113-129.

M. Claude Schaeffer discovered in 1953 at Ras-Shamra-Ugarit a number of tablets which record traties, political and economic agreements concluded between the Hittite Kings and the Kings of Ugarit.

in which he defind clearly the duties of both parties. However these treaties did not keep all the vassal countries in subjection, faithful and loyal to their overlord. So often these countries revolted as was the case after the death of Suppiluliumas (1). Among them was Kizzuwatna with which Suppiluliumas had concluded a treaty ; consequently Mursilis II was compelled to conquer it and to annex it to the Hatti land (2).

On the other hand, some vassals remained bound by their treaties. In the preamble of the treaty between Mursilis and Duppi - Tessub of Amurru, Mursilis stated clearly that Azirru, king of Amurru remained bound by treaty and was loyal to Mursilis's father, and then to Mursilis when he succeeded to the throne, he fought on their side in their wars against the Naḫassi kings and the king of Kinza, when they rebelled a second time against Mursilis. Also Aziru's son Du-tessup remained loyal and fought with the Hittite king ; accordingly, Mursilis was demanding from their son Duppi - Tessup to be loyal to him as had been his father and his grand - father.

It is worthwhile to point out that Mursilis made a second treaty with Duppi - Tessub of Amurru while there was already a treaty concluded between Aziru, the grandfather of Duppi - Tessub and the father of Mursilis. This treaty was not breached by a revolt or war between the two countries as was clearly stated in the historical preamble. It seemed that the Hittite king thought it would be better to exact from time to time a new oath from his vassal and to renew the bonds between the two countries so that the peaceful relation should always remain intact.

The General Characteristics of the Treaties

This large number of Hittite treaties reflect a clear picture of the military conquests of the time, the political conflicts between the neighbouring powers, the status of

(1) GÖTZE.—*Ibid*, p. 14, ff.

(2) GÖTZE.—*Kizzuwatna*, p. 80 ff.

the vassal in relation to his overlord, and even exhibit the whole background behind the life not only of the rulers and the high officials, their struggles and their intrigues, but also we get a glimpse of the social existance of the lower classes.

The Hittite did not develop a stereotyped form of treaty which they imposed on their vassals : but on the contrary each treaty has its own character, and its condit-ions are drawn to suit its own purpose, namely, to deter-mine in definite clear terms the nature of the relations between the Hittite king and a certain vassal. To aid this, the Hittite kings used to preface their treaties with an account of the relation between the Hittites and the state concerned. Consequently the writing down of the clauses differs from one treaty to another. In fact there is no systematic coherence neither in the wording of the close, nor in its place in the treaty. Besides, these treaties are written in the first person and they resemble rather a legal contract between two chiefs than a treaty between two governments. The modern sense of a treaty was not yet crystallized in the minds of the people at that time.

In these treaties, we notice that the same clause do not occur in the different treaties under the same paragraph but in one treaty, it is treated at its beginning, in another it stands at its end. The clauses that concern one fact are not necessarily grouped under the same paragraph, but are treated separetaly in different places. For example the military colony is treated in TF. 2 under paragraphs 5 and 12.

The phraseology of the clauses are different from one treaty to another, but on the whole they convey the same meaning.

Some of the treaties are very lengthy like the treaty between Suppiluliumas and Šanuššara of Kizzuwatna, or the treaty between Suppiluliumas and Haqqanas, while others are short, like the treaty between Mursilis 11 and Manapa - Dattaš, or the treaty between Muršilis (Muwat-tallis) and Rimisharma.

While in some treaties the Hittite king maintained severe and humiliating tone towards his vassal as is in the treaty between Muwatallis and Alaksandus of Wiluša where the Hittite king make it clear to his vassal that his treaty was not made on terms of parity and that it is one-sided; in other treaties for example the treaty between Suppiluliumas and Mattivaza of Mitanni, the Hittite king was always trying to treat Mattivaza as his equal.

Between these two forms of treaties the tone of the Hittite king fluctuates according to circumstances. How-ever, whether his tone was mild or humiliating he always imposed on his vassals all the obligations which leave them in complete subjection to his own will.

The Form of the Treaty :

The different clauses of the treaties can be devided into the following headings, though the Hittites themselves did not attempt to make such a division. The treaty to them was a whole.

The Preamble :

The preamble introduces the name of the Hittite king who made the treaty and his titles. In treaties with vassal states, the Hittite king always referred to himeslf as "the sun" a title which the Hittites only employed in their treaties with their vassals and letters addressed to them. But this title did not appear in treaties between the Hittite king and another sovereign country as for exam-ple, the treaty between Ramses II and Hattusilis III.

The Historical Introduction :

It introduces the name of the king and records the historical background which has led to the conclusion of this treaty,the services which the Hittite king has rendered to his vassal, his good intentions towards him, the good deeds of the vassal and of his fathers, sometimes the hostilities which the vassal had committed against the Hittite king.

This historical introduction is found in all the Hittite treaties with the exception of the treaty which was concluded between Suppiluliumas and the people of Ḫajaša.

The Clauses :

They determine the future relations which should take place between the Hittite king and his vassal, the duties and obligations of the vassals, the rights which the Hittite king has granted and his obligations towards his vassal.

The placement of the tablets upon which the treaty is written in the temple before the gods.

A list of all the gods of Hatti as well as those of the vassal countries who are invoked as witnesses for the right execution of the treaties.

This list always stands right at the end after the clauses of the treaty ; but in the treaty between Suppiluliumas and Ḫukkanaš and the people of Ḫajaša, this list of the gods stands right at the beginning of the treaty, just after the preamble.

Curses and Blessings :

The last paragraph in the Hittite treaties consists of the invocation of the gods of the oath to destroy the vassal his family and his country, if he fails to carry out the clauses of the treaty, or to bless him his family and his country, if he honours the words of the treaty written upon the tablet.

Punishment of Cities, Citizens, and Chiefs

In case of the countries which had waged war against the Hittite king, the Hittite king would lead into captivity its king, the whole of the family, mother, brothers, and sons together with all that they owned, as well as all the inhabitants together with their cattle, sheep, horses and all their possessions and brought the whole lot to Hatti land(1). In one campaign a Hittite king brought 10,530,

(1) ANET, p. 318, GÖTZE.—*Die Annalen Des Mursiliš*, pp. 23, l. 33 ; 25, l., 7, 29, l, 51 ; 35, l, 21-22 ; 31, l, 30, 35, l. 11, ; 39 1.26 ; 41 1.7 ; 67 1. 86 ; 77, l, 33 ; 79, l, 52 95, l. 23, 101, l, 12 ; 107, l, 24-25 ; 121, l, 65 ; 129, l, 37 ; 161, 1.13-14 ; 163, 1,19 ; 73, 1.51 ; 175, 1.30. 177, 1.32, 34 ; 179, 1.13-15 ; 183, 1.12 ; 191. 1.53 ; 197, 1. 271.

and from Arzawa 66.000 prisoners were brought in two year only (1). Mursilis reported in his annals that he brought once to his house alone 15.000 (2) to be land workers (3). Their cities, he would destroy and burnt(4), and sometimes he would take their gods away (5). This was very ancient custom in Asia Minor. Annitas, king only of Kussaras, with his army destroyed systematically the city and burned the villages of the rebellious ruler, who was in this case Salatiswaras of Hattusas, and Annitas placed a curse of death upon any king who would in future times rebuilt it(6). In the excavations at Alalekh Sir L. Woolley found traces of such burning. The citadel of Alalekh together with the royal palace that formed a part of the palace was destroyed by fire, and he pointed out that fire was intentional because neither the temple nor the private houses of the citizens suffered in this way (7).

Sometimes the Hittite king would insist on the death of the rebelious king who broke his oath and waged war against him(8).

Strategic Positions, Fortresses, and Garrisons

The Hittites, as professor John Garstang pointed out, chose for their capital Hattusas, a defensible position and at the same time not far from the crossing point at Yuzgat to two ancient trade routes ; one from the northern coast, at Samson towards Cilicia and Syria ; the other from the upper Euphrates westward to the Aegean sea. Thus

(1) E. CAVAIGNAC.—*Subbiluliuma et Son Temps*, p. 18, 20, 91.

(2) GÖTZE.—*Ibid*, p. 57.1.50.

(3) J. GARSTANG & O.R. GURNEY.—*The geography of the Hittite Empire*, (London 1959), p. 87.

(4) AMT. 126, l, 51 ff, 174, l. 11, ff ; 175, l, 9-13 ; 176, l. 9-12 ; 55, l. 40 ff ; 53, l. 35, ff.

GÖTZE.—*Ibid*, pp. 25, l, 7; 29, l,52 ;37, l. 23 ; 33, l. 3 ;35, l. 6 ; 41, l. 6 ; 65, l, 79 ; 81, l. 65 ; 91, 1, 5 ; 101, l. 78 ; 107, l, 23 ; 129, l. 39 , 41, 44 ; 149, l. 28 ; 163, 1.18, 6 ; 165, l, 8 ; 169, l. 14 ; 175, l. 29 ; 177, l. 32, 33 ; 179, l. 56, 13, 14, 16 ; 181, 1.3 ; 197, l. 22 ; 183, l. 56, 7, 14, 16 ; 185, l. 37, 39 ; 187, 1. 61, 10 ; 191, l. 52.

(5) AMT. 55, l. 42 ff.

(6) AJSL., LVIII, p. 183, 184.

(7) L. WOOLLEY.—*A Forgotten Kingdom* (London, 1935). p. 143

(8) -A. GÖTZE.—*Ibid*, p. 37, l. 16 ; p. 113-115, l. 9-12.

being in a central and defensible position, the Hittites were able to dominate the whole of Asia Minor and to move with their armies from one frontier to the other without delay, especially as their boundaries were almost natural barriers [1], and the field from which they start military operations. Moreover, whether it is the ingenuity of the Hittites, or it is a gift of nature the roads that led to the southern and western borders by the valleys of the Calycadnus and the Moeander respectively, formed strategic barrier against the expansion of Arzawa [2]. Moreover, because the Gasgas were always threatening Hattusas, Suppiluliumas built two fortresses Adhulissa and Tuhuburbana at mount Zugkuki to repulse their attacks [3].

The Hittites also occupied the central strategic positions like Kaleh Dagh (i.e. Castle Hill), south of Tummuhale which is of extreme vital importance. Upon the creast of this hill stood a castle, Turba Kala which would command the ways to the south and to the east and could be used for defence as well [4]. Almost all the important cities cities of Asia Minor were fortified either by the Hittites or by their enemies [5].

In north Syria as well, the Hittites controlled a number of fortresses. Idrimi mentioned in the inscription on his statue seven of them which he had attacked ; these were the cities Paššaḫe, Damarut-reʿi, Ḫulaḫḫan, Zisi, the district Iʿa, and the cities Uluzi, the capital, and Zaruna [6].

Sir L.Woolley also pointed out that the first phase of level I represented a deliberate attempt by the Hittites to make Alalakh an outpost of Bogasköy [7]. Though Suppiluliumas, after conquering the city, burnt it to the ground, he built a huge fortress (which presumably housed also the governer) to dominate the city.

(1) AJA, XLVII, p. 37 & 58.
(2) AJA *ibid*, p. 44.
(3) E. CAVAIGNAC.—*Subbiluliuma et Son temps*, p. 44.
(4) AJA, XLVII, p. 60.
(5) J. GARSTANG & O.R. GURNEY.—*Ibid*, p. 24, 30, 37, 38, 59.
(6) S. SMITH.—*The Statue of Idrimi* (London 1949), p. 19.
(7) L. WOOLLEY.—*Ibid*, p. 169.

He rebuilt the city temple, giving it a Hittite character, and made of it a centre of Hittite religion. He installed Hittite officials in order that the governement business should be transacted on the technical model of his administration at home [1]. For fear on the rising power of Assur, this fortress was rebuilt again by Hattusils III, after it had fallen into decay and it would be, almost certainly, garrisoned by regular troops of the Hittite army [2].

To secure a firm hold of north Syria, Suppiluliumas had to conquer and occupy the two important centres of north Syria Carchemish and Aleppo [3], the first dominating the crossing of the great river, the other dominating the trade routes leading to the south. To be sure of their permanent loyalty, the appointed his two sons over them.

Moreover, the Hittites kept a detachment of their army in the conquered countries as is stated in the annals of king Mursilis II [4] and also in the treaty of Muwatallis with Alakšanduš of Wiluša [5]. In the treaty of Mursilis II with Targašnallaš of Ḫapalla, it was made clear that the Hittite king placed a military colony beside the local ruler who, according to the treaty, was to protect them well and to entertain no grudge against them [6]. But it was not made clear whether the commander of the colony had any political power over the local governer save that he should be helpful to the governor. On the other hand, the governor seemed to owe to the commander of the colony no obligations or duties except that he had to protect the camp against ordinary thefts and to warn him in case of an approaching enemy [7]. Sometimes the Hittite king would also give to the local ruler whom he ha appointed a personal gaurd to protect him against revolts in his own land and to help him in executing the duties of his office [8].

(1) L. WOOLLEY.—*Ibid*, p. 143.
(2) L. WOOLLEY.—*Ibid*, p. 168.
(3) E. CAVAIGNAC.—*Ibid*, p. 69.
(4) GÖTZE.—*Die Annalen des Muršiliš*, p. 73, 1.34-36, p. 93, 1.14-15.
(5) TF. 5, 75 1.48.
(6) TF. 2, p. 57, § 51 1.24-27.
(7) TF. 2, § 13 p. 65 & 67.
(8) GÖTZE.—*Ibid*, p. 75, 1.46-49.

Trophies

It is interesting to note that Hattusilis, on conquering his enemies, would often erect a trophy in commemoration of his victory. Such trophies were set up in Wistawanda and Hahhas [1].

Tribute

The Hittites also exacted yearly tribute from the conquered countries. This tribute was recorded in their treaties with the vassals, and the amount which the concerned vassal had to pay each year was clearly defined. It was also made that there should be no alteration of this amount, paid either in goods or in gold, from year to year, or even from one generation to another. The tribute which was imposed upon your grandfather and your father .... you shall present them likewise [2]. Thus the tribute went on exactly the same form grandfather to son ; and it was the vassal in person who should present it to the Hittite king and do him homeage. Later apparently, the tribute was sent by a messenger [3].

Donnations of Land

In the text Bo 4889 [4], a Hittite king, most certainly Suppiluliumas [5] made a large donnation of land of the conquered country of Kizzuwatna to the temple in the Ishara Mountain. The donnation included whole villages, fields, vineyards, olive trees, gardenland, cultivated and uncultivated plains, vegitable gardens,threshing floor and olive grove, cattle, sheep, bread, beer, garments, copper containers, bronze bowels, silver, bowels and cups, gold and silver.

This deed together with the appointment of his son Telepinus priest to the city of Kizzuwatna showed clearly

1) J. GARSTANG & O.R. GURNEY.—*Ibid*, p. 22 and 26.
(2) GÖTZE.—*Kuzzuwatna*, p. 81 ; *Mursilis*, p. 177, l. 47-48.
(3) *Ibid* & O.R. GURNEY.—*The Hittites*, p. 75.
(4) GÖTZE.—*Kizzuwatna*, p. 61.
(5) *Ibid*, p. 70.

the hidden intention of the conqueror to break up the powers of Kizzuwatna kings [1]. The success of this policy was proved later on when Mursilis, after Suppiluliumas death, succeeded to conquer Kizzuwatna after its revolt and to annexe it to the Hittite empire [2].

Conclusion

These are the major lines of the Hittite policy, in the execution of which the Hittite kings showed great ability ; and though it was successful, the Hittite empire did not last long (from the beginning of Suppiluliumas's reign in 1380 till the end of Hattusilis III's reign in 1250) [3]. The main fact that accounts for its failure was the limited number of the Hittite tribe and consequently of its army ; for the kings could not afford to maintain a big standing army composed mainly of Hittites.

The conquered countries, in most cases, were granted home rule ; even their own internal security forces were left in their own hands. The ruler was the head of the state with all the judicial and executive powers under his control. In time of war the Hittite kings had to rely on the fidelity of these native rulers for help. But the Hittites never tried to incorporate within their own armies, the armies of their vassals, but whenever there was an eminent danger, they had to summon these subsidiary armies. Naturally this system had its drawbacks. The Hittites could never had a chance to stand a strong and sudden invasion like that of the Sea-people who laid waste the Hatti land.

Another factor which contributed to this end was the lack of a naval force ; for the Hittites, though they were dwelling in the midst of a peninsula and had direct control of more than one port on the Mediterranean sea, neglected to build a naval force, or even a marchandise fleet. They relied largely, owning to the peculiar position of their city, on land forces.

(1) *Ibid*, p. 70.
(2) *Ibid*, p. 80-81.
(3) The dates are based on those published by A. SCHARFF and A. MOORTGAT in *Ägypteu Und Vorderasien im Altertum* (Munchen 1950).

Though the Hittites strove to enlarge their borders as expressed in the edict of Telepinus, and to found an empire, it was not part of their policy to emigrate to these newly conquered lands, to colonize and develop them or exploit for their own benefit. They simply were satisfied with conquering their enemies, plundering, devastating and burning to the ground their villages, towns and fields, and bringing their men, women and children to live in slavery in poor Hatti. Their main aim was to guarantee the borders of Hatti, and to control the trade-routes passing through Asia Minor and north Syria. To achieve this they had to subject all the surrounding states to their yoke ; and to guarantee their loyalty they had to appoint loyal chiefs to be their kings.

However, the rising power of Assur and the sudden attack of the Sea-people did not give much chance to Hatti which had been weakened by the pest and by continuous wars against hostile and strong neighbours. In the end, the empire disintegrated and Hatti itself disappeared from history for ever.

Abdul-Qader Muhammed



Battle of Kadesh. Great Temple of Abou Simbel. (Centre of Documentation and Studies on Ancient Egypt)

RECENT FINDS

by

Dr. M. ABDUL-QADER MUHAMMAD

KARNAK

THIRD PYLON

In order to get out the monuments which had been placed in the foundation of the third pylon, it was decided to dismantle the north flank of the pylon. The work of dismantling and reconstruction took several years, from 1957-1964. But the foundation was cleared during the season of 1958-1959, when I was chief inspector of upper Egypt during that period.

I will not discuss in details the architectural problems, as this is outside my scope. This work has been carried out by the architect Moustafa Subhy, Director of works at Karnak, under the supervision of the architect Taha El-Sheltawy, Director of the engineering section.

This pylon, as is known, was constructed by Amenophis III. The two faces of the pylon, both the inner and outer, or the western and the eastern, faces are both quite vertical. That is in accordance with the usual regulations of building the walls of a hall, but not of a front-pylon, though the flag-shafts were set in the façade (at that time of Amenophis III this inner face was the temple-façade). It seems that when Amenophis III built his pylon, he had in mind the building of an immense hypostyle hall which is usually attributed to later kings. Thus the idea of the huge hypostyle hall was first conceived by king Amenophis III, who also conceived the idea of the fourteen-columned hall at the temple of Luxor. It is also possible that Amenophis III might have begun laying the foundation of this big hypostyle hall, but died before completing his project. There is a strong proof to support this view.

When the north flank of the third pylon was dismantled it was found out that the pylon in reality consisted of two walls (Pl. XIX), both built by Amenophis III. Both walls extend from the main gate to the north wall of the hall. The western façade of the eastern wall, which was later hidden by the second western wall, was not vertical, but it recedes inwards as it gets higher, in accordance with the usual regulations of building the proper pylon-façade. It was inscribed with few lines giving the names and titles of Amenophis III. But there was no other decoration. Thus it seems that as soon as it was finished, Amenophis III decided to build the second western wall, hiding the whole façade of the eastern wall and tightly fitted unto it. No space whatsoever was left between the two walls. Accordingly, the eastern face of the west wall is leaning outwards to match the receding façade of the east wall, while the western face of this west wall is made vertical to suit the columns of the hypostyle hall. There is no doubt, according to this evidence that the originality of the idea should go to Amenophis III, who was the first to construct for himself the two huge colossus which are kwown as the Memnon colossi and in whose reign the big tombs of Thebes were constructed. It was this king, and not Ramses II, who was the first to originate the idea of building the immense and the huge. Ramses II exploited it to the utmost.

It is decided, when the third pylon will be re-built, to leave a space between the two walls, so that people can see the two parts of the pylon Pl. 19 ; though this would not be exactly the same as it was before dismantling, yet this is the only possible solution.

When the third pylon was dismantled, we found out that it had a solid foundation constructed of re-used blocks of previous kings. It was about 6 metres deep. These blocks were laid on a bed of sand which runs also under the foundations of the columns of the hall. The total length of the foundation was 38 metres × 6,30metres. in breadth.

From this evidence we can be sure that the pylons. and the columns have very solid and strong foundations.

contrary to the view which was prevailing in the past that Egyptian buildings had no foundations. This might be true only of the buildings which were constructed on a rocky ground.

We had to build a new foundation for the pylon instead of the re-used blocks which had been taken out. The new foundation is made of concrete as follows. Pls./ 18, 20.

	cm.
First, a bed of concrete	70
Second bed of re-inforced concrete ..	60
26 pillers of re-inforced concrete	300 height.
Each piller is 225 × 100 cm. The space between the pillers is filled with sand.	
On top of the pillers is another bed of re-inforced concrete on which the walls of the pylon will stand ..	170
TOTAL	600

The work is now near completion.

The old foundation was made of huge blocks of stones, cut to sizes between 1-4 metres in length, thickness is about one metre. These were taken out of earlier temples. The blocks were all inscribed. The upper layers of the blocks belong to Thutmoses IV. Lower layers belong to Amenophis. 1. Few blocks, strangely, belong to Amenophis III himself, the builder of the pylon. A small block of alabaster bears the name of Ahmes, another bears the name of Sobek- Hotep. Now we will discuss these in detail.

AMENOPHIS III

It is extremely interesting to find in the foundation, blocks bearing inscriptions of Amenophis III. These monuments must have been obstructing the building of the pylon in his second stage, so it was decided to put them as a foundation deposits of the king in his own pylon.

In both scenes Pls. 1, 2, king Amenophis III is celebrating his *ḥeb-sed* festival. Thus the second stage of building of the pylon took place some time after the celebration of this festival.

In one scene Pl.2 the king is shown holding the *ḥeb*-sign and dancing before the god Amun-Re. (The construction of this scene is not certain ; it is possible that there was more than one scene of the same occassion.)

In the second scene Pl. I the king is offering libation to the god.

The two scenes are sculptured in relief on several blocks of limestone. They do not form a stela, but they seem to be parts of a wall which bears a series of scenes. This indicates the existance of a temple constructed by Amenophis III. Is it possible that Amenophis III died before finishing the foundation for the second stage, and his successor who decided to complete the work, placed the temple-blocks of Amenophis III in the foundation ? This could be possible, but it is difficult to know the truth. But there is no doubt that it was Amenophis III who built the east wall of the third pylon.

SOBEK-HOTEP

A block of limestone bearing the name of a king, Sobek-Hotep of the XIIIth. dynasty, was found at the depth of six metres, i.e. the last layer of the foundation of the third pylon. Date of discovery First of July 1957.

The block bears inscriptions on both faces and on its thickness. The inscriptions and the scenes are in sunk relief and not of a high quality. It reflects the low standard of sculpture at that time.

On one face Pl. 3.b, it shows two scenes :
Left scene : The king stands in the centre, wearing the crown of Upper Egypt, and gives an offering to Amun-Re.

The king is dressed in the usual *šndyt* kilt, the *usḫt* collar, and wearing the crown of Upper Egypt, and holds in each hand a jug offering them to the god. The king is called in the text.

sꜣ rʿ n ẖt.f Sbk Ḥtp di ʿnḫ ḏt

The god is clad with the *šndyt*-kilt also, the *wsḫt* collar and wearing on his head the two feathers of Amun. In his left hand he holds the *wꜣs* scepter, while in his right hand he holds the *ʿnḫ*-sign.

He is called in the text.

imn rʿ nb nsw.t tꜣwy

Right side. The king stands in the center wearing the kilt and the *wsḫt*-collar. On his head he wears the two feathers of Amun and the uraeus on his forehead. There is a difference between the two crowns which are made of feathers. That of the king has the uraeus ; that of the god is without a uraeus, but is adorned with a tail falling down behind his back. The king who is offering to god Hapy is called :

nṯr nfr nb tꜣwy nb iry ḫt sḫm rʿ wsr tꜣwy di ʿnḫ ḏd wꜣs mi rʿ mi ḏt

The god is called *Hʿpy ʿꜣ*, the great Hapy.

The second face of the stela. Pl. 3. a

This side of the stela records a certain visit to the residence of this god Hapy.

" The living son of Re Sobek Hotep, beloved of Hapy, may he live for ever. Year 4, month 4, of summer, the five epagomenal days, the majesty of this god living for ever. His majesty proceeds to the divine palace to see the great Hapy. His majesty came to this northern divine palace in the middle of the water. (His majesty) crossed unto it".

The rest of the line is destroyed.

The name of the place where the divine palace existed was not given. But as the name of god Amun-Re was given, and Amun-Re, as we know, is the god of Thebes and his original residence was Karnak ; moreover, this stela was also found in Karnak, the divine palace concerned should have existed somewhere in this area. According to this inscription, it seems that there was at that time a chapel in the area of Karnak for the Nile-god Hapy who was considered a very important god, the god who provides Egypt with water.

This northen palace was situated amidst the water. Does that mean that the site of Karnak was at that time an island which was joined to the main land at a later date ? Could this be possible ?[1] Or was the divine palace of Hapy situated somewhere else ? It is in fact difficult to give a definite answer.

The king who is mentioned here is Sekhem-Re Weser Tawy Sobek Hotep III, one of the most active kings of the Thirteenth dynasty.

The thickness of the stela. Pl. 4 *a*.

On the thickness of the stela there was an attempt for writing the titulary of the king, but the inscription was never completed.

NEBPEḤTIRE AḤMOSIS

Two interesting objects were found for that king. They were found near the bottom, about two metres higher than the bottom-level of the foundation.

(1) Compare the Bible, Nahum iii, 8.

The first is a fragment of limestone pl.4.b. The rest of the stela is destroyed. It gives the year 17, but we could not be sure as the date is partly destroyed.

The second is a stela of limestone, inscribed on both faces, but unfortunately it is badly destroyed pl. 5.

On both faces the king is represented given an offering probably to the goddess of the fields, for the offering is consisting of *ḏfȝw rnpt*.

In 5. a, the king seems to be sailing southwards, probably returning home after he conquered his enemies ; he is called, *iṯ tȝwy* the conqueror or the unifier of the two lands.

In the text on the other face of the stela, the king had arrived at his capital, "His majesty sat as in the southern *Iwn* (*i.e.* Thebes)." pl. 5.*b*.

Both texts, taken together, seem to indicate that after the king had conquered his enemies the Hyksos in the north, he returned to Thebes to be crowned as king. The southern *Iwn* continued to be the capital.

Pl. 5. *c. d.* Two faces of a small fragment of limestone.

AMENOPHIS I

Few fragments were found bearing the name of *ḏsr kȝ rʿ*. Pl. 6,7, Amenophis I must have had built many a monument in Karnak, but they were dismantled by later kings to be put as foundation deposits in their pylons. Dr. Abou Ennaga found in 1940 a complete shrine for that king which was made of alabaster and exquisitely sculptured. It was also found in the filling of the third pylon, in the southern flank.

These few fragments show the king offering to Amun-Re. The sculptue is very fine.

TUTHMOSIS II

The monuments of that king in Karnak are almost nil. But in the foundation of the third pylon several blocks bearing his name were found. They no doubt prove that this king had added to Karnak at least one magnificent building and that sculpture had reached a high standard in his time. But it seems that because of the feud in his family, his monuments were destroyed.

One block Pl. 8. a shows the king knealing down to offer milk to the god ; the relief of the king is wonderful, a prelude to that art of Hatshepsut.

Several blocks which seem to form a lintel of a wall bear in huge relief the titulary of Thutmosis II. Pl. 9.

There is no doubt, according to this evidence, that there existed in Karnak somewhere in the vicinity of the fourth pylon a temple for that king which had been destroyed by Amenohpis III. More blocks of that temple may still be found. Surely, there must be some other blocks among those already discovered in the foundation of the third pylon. These will be separated when a proper study is made of the blocks.

TUTHMOSIS IV

It seems that a whole temple for Tuthmosis IV was dismantled, the blocks of which were used in the foundation of the third pylon. That may explain the scanty remains of that king in the Karnak temple. It certainly demonstrates the bad relation between king Amenophis III and his predecessor Thutmosis IV. It is possible that Amenophis III, who tried to ascertain his claim to the throne by inventing the story of his divine birth which he sculptured on the walls of his Luxor temple, was not, in fact, the right successor to the throne, and that Thutmosis did not support him during his life. However, Amenophis III did not only demolish the monuments of that king, but of other kings. Blocks ot Senuseret Amenophis I, Hatshepsut, and others were also found in

the filling of this pylon, though not in this part of the foundation. There is no doubt that at least up to the reign of Thutmosis III, the temples of the Middle Kingdom were still existing on their original sites ; it was Amenophis III who was the first to decide to pull them down, and to use their blocks as a filling or as a foundation for his pylon. We should notice also that in this area, there are no buildings for Amenophis II. Is it possible that Amenophis III had also pulled down the temples of Amenophis II and used their blocks in the foundation of southern flank of his pylon as he had used the blocks of Thutmosis IV in the foundation of the Northern flank ? It is really surprising to find that monuments of that king in Karnak are very scanty. There is no doubt that Amenophis III who was much devoted to love and wine was unscrupulous and did not hesitate to destroy the buildings of his predecessors to satisfy his greed. It was Amenophis III then who was the first to destroy and to usurp the buildings of his predecessors long before Ramses II came into existence. Is it possible also that the funerary temples of Thutmosis III and Amenophis II and Thutmosis IV on the western bank of the Nile were pulled down by Amenophis III and their blocks were re-used in the construction of his funerary temple with the result that his successors did the same to his temple ?

We now return to the blocks of Thutmosis IV.

Various pillars were found in good condition. The scenes on them pl. 10,11 show Thutmosis IV embracing Amun - Re. Other scenes show the king offering to the god. Among the most valuable reliefs are those of two bulls pl. 12; they are finely sculptured and beautifully painted and ornamented for the festival. Another fine sculpture shows the king offering a bouquet pl. 13

But no long text was found. The blocks, inspite of their large size, bear only parts of scenes pl. 14-17

Owing to the large size of these blocks and the good preservation of its sculpture, the possiblility of reconstructing most of the walls of the temple is great.

THE SACRED LAKE

As the area round the lake was very dusty, the municipality paved a way two metres in width, running round four sides of the lake. This side-walk was constructed of concrete-tiles. I hope that in future this side-walk would be widened and rebuilt with sandstone - tiles. I also think that a path should be paved along the corridors of the temple, as the ancient sandstone - tiles had been completely destroyed.

It was also decided by the municipality to build a cafeteria at the shore of the sacred lake. I did my best to keep the building as hidden as possible in the farthest southeastern corner of the mound which surrounded the lake in those parts. It was erected in 1960 at the back of the eastern mound, south side. When we were trying to level the mound, which, at the beginning, we thought that it was simply a mass of earth, it was soon clear that this mound is nothihg else than a huge enclosure - wall which was most probably constructed soon after digging the sacred lake in order to shut it from the outer world. The eastern flank of the enclosure wall closes northward at the back of the main temple, that part which was built by Thutmosis III, but this end-part of the enclosure wall must have been demolished later. The southern flank of the enclosure wall closes at the Eighth pylon which was constructed by Hat-shepsut. At that time no monuments existed outside that enclosure. Accordingly this enclosure - wall which is several metres in thickness had been probably built by Thutmosis III, who might have also dug the present lake. Thus both the lake and the enclosure wall are probably the work of Thutmosis III who also built many halls and chambers in the eastern part of the great temple of Amun - Re parallel to the lake.

On the top of the south - eastern corner, of this enlosure wall two slabs of sandstone were found, both of the Late period.

One block pl. 22 shows a priest praying to the ithaphilitic god Amun - Re who is supported once by Isis, then by another goddess, but the text is not in a good state of preservation. I was not able to make a copy of this text nor of the text on the other slab as I left Luxor.

The second slab Pl. 21 is a door - jamb of a priest of Amun called Ankhef Khonso son of a third prophet of Amun.

THE THEBAN NECROPOLIS

THE TEMPLE OF AMENOPHIS III.

The stela of Amenophis III which had been lying for centuries on its back was at last erected on a solid foundation made of re - inforced concrete. The work was done by the Late Helmy Pacha and others. The back of the stela was supported by re-inforced concerete. Its face was set towards the west as was supposed to be pl. 23.

The foundations of the pillars of the hypostyle hall of the temple were found and the huge hall could be reconstructed. Later in 1959 many statues of the goddess Sekhmet were found. However, the most valuable object found in this temple is the head of a statue of Amenophis III, of gray granite two metres in height pl. 24, 25. It was moved to the store - house in Gurna. It is a very fine piece of sculpture.

THE TOMB OF KHERUEF

When I was appointed chief inspector of Upper Egypt, the work of clearing the tomb of Kheruef was not yet completed. Labib Habachi and Ibrahim Kamel cleared the inner chambers and part of the first hall. So, with the help of my colleague Ibrahim Ennawawy, the inspector of Gurna, I had to clear the remaining part of the hall and the great court of the tomb which was quite full of debris. pl. 26.

The burial chamber of the tomb was constructed in the first hall. It was hewn in the back wall, left side. But nothing was found in it, as the tomb was certainly robbed; for it was re-used later for other burials. In the ground of the first hall and in that of the court several shafts were hewn by later intruders but nothing was found in those which were excavated during this season. Also in the walls of this big court several tombs, mainly Ramesside, were hewn. For each tomb a small court was made the walls of which were constructed of mud-bricks.

In the debris many small objects were found, but few are of interest :

A quartzite head, about 20 cm. in height, pl. 27.

It is impossible to decide whether this head is of Kheruef himself, or of somebody else, as it was found in the debris of the court.

A wooden box containing paints made in the form of discs. Pl. 28.

An offering - table of limestone pl. 29.

A headrest of wood.

A small head of limestone

A fragment of a jug bearing few line of hieratic.

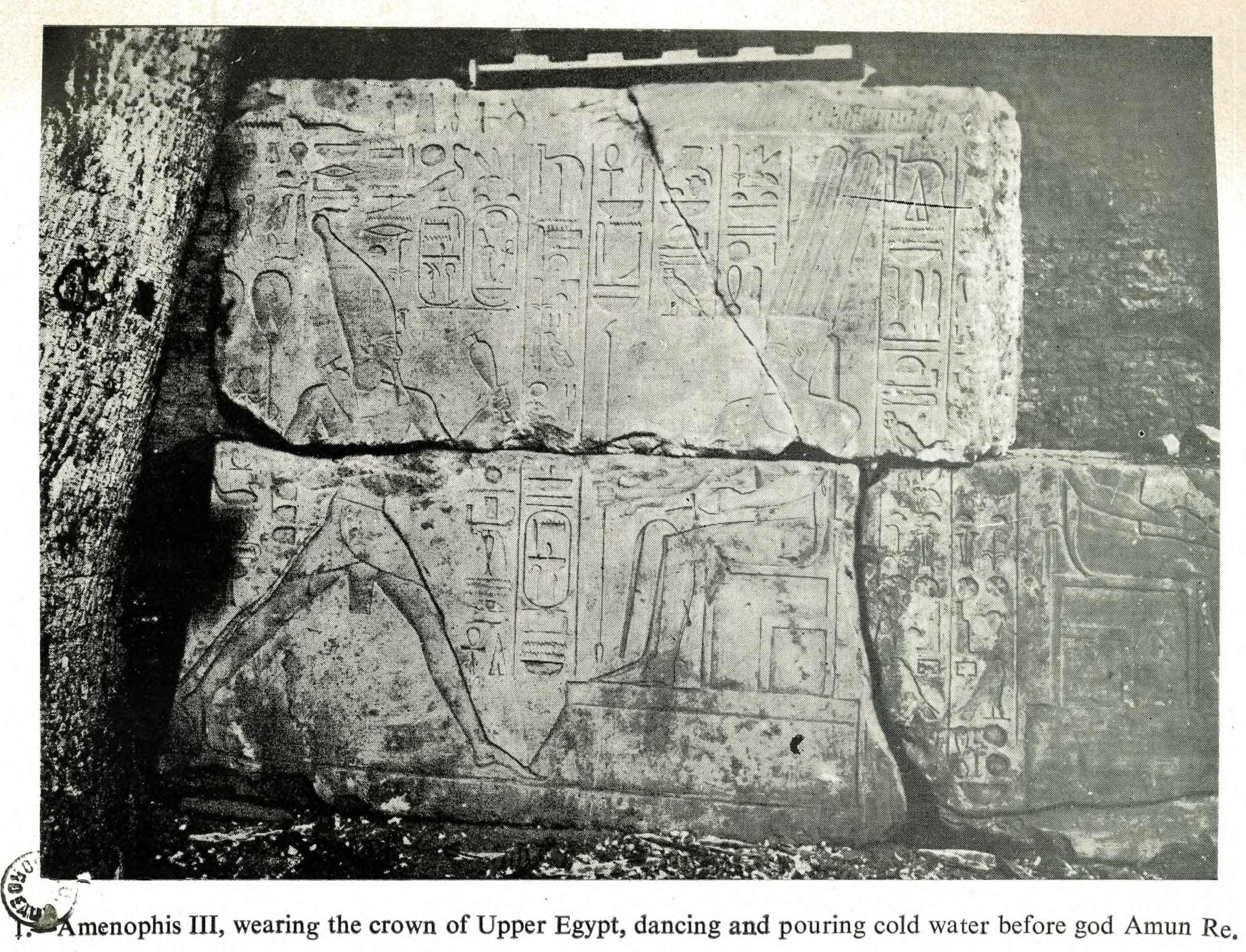
Ostraca of limestone with hieratic inscription.

A limestone ostraca with a painted goose.

Two ostracae showing human figures, probably of Roman period.

A small fragment of limestone bearing minute relief of a man and his wife before offerings. This scene is probably cut from a tomb, pl. 29.

Dr. ABDUL-QADER MUHAMMAD



1. Amenophis III, wearing the crown of Upper Egypt, dancing and pouring cold water before god Amun Re.

Pl. I



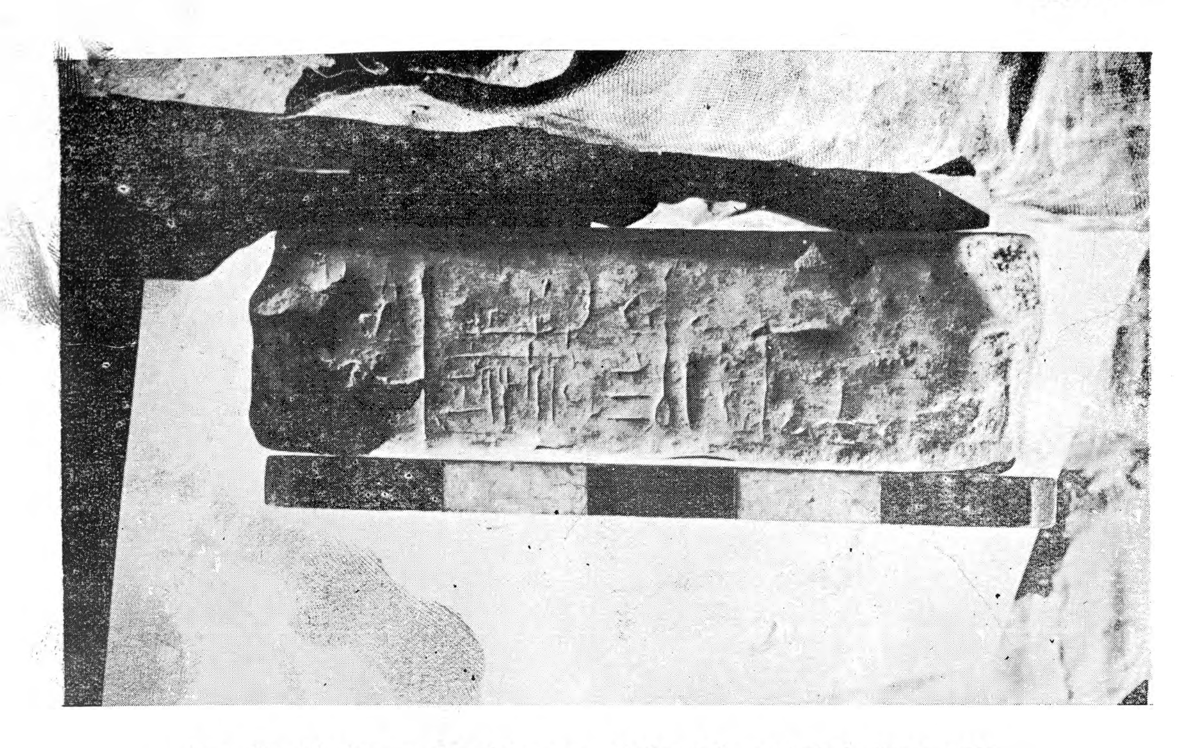
2.—Amenophis III, wearing the crown of Lower Egypt, holding the *heb*-sign, is dancing before god Amun-Re.



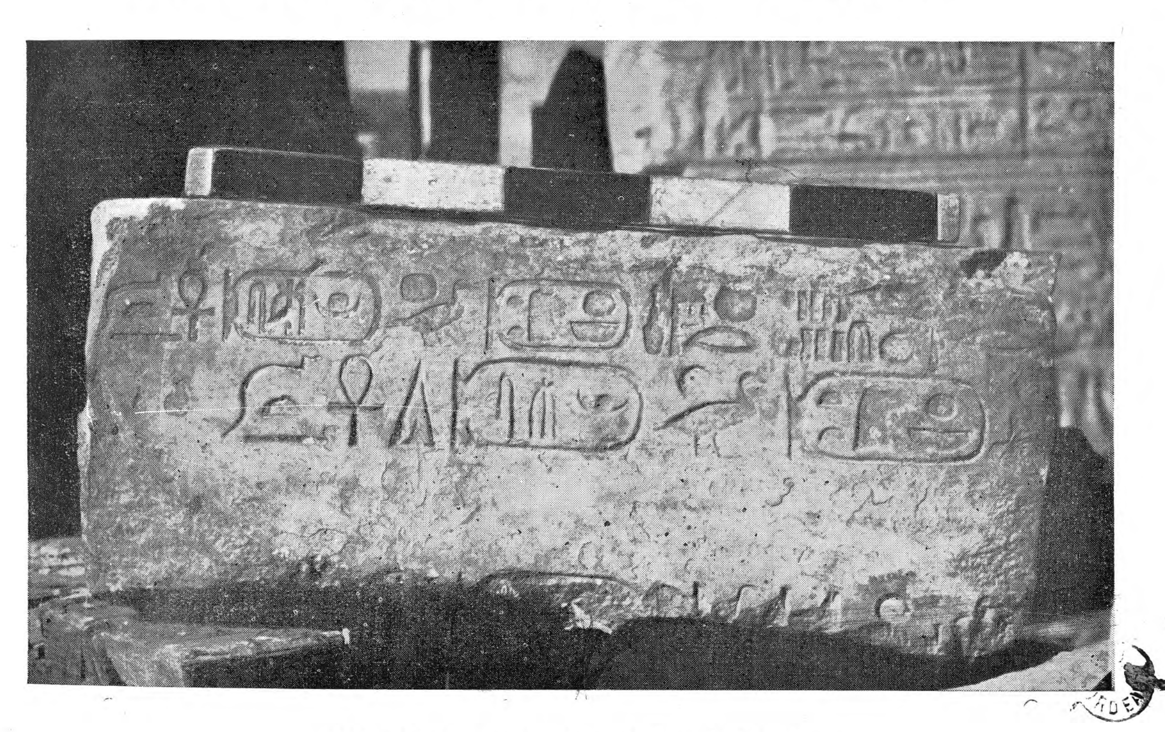
3 *a.*—A stela of Sobek-Hotep III commemorating his visit to the residence of Hapy.



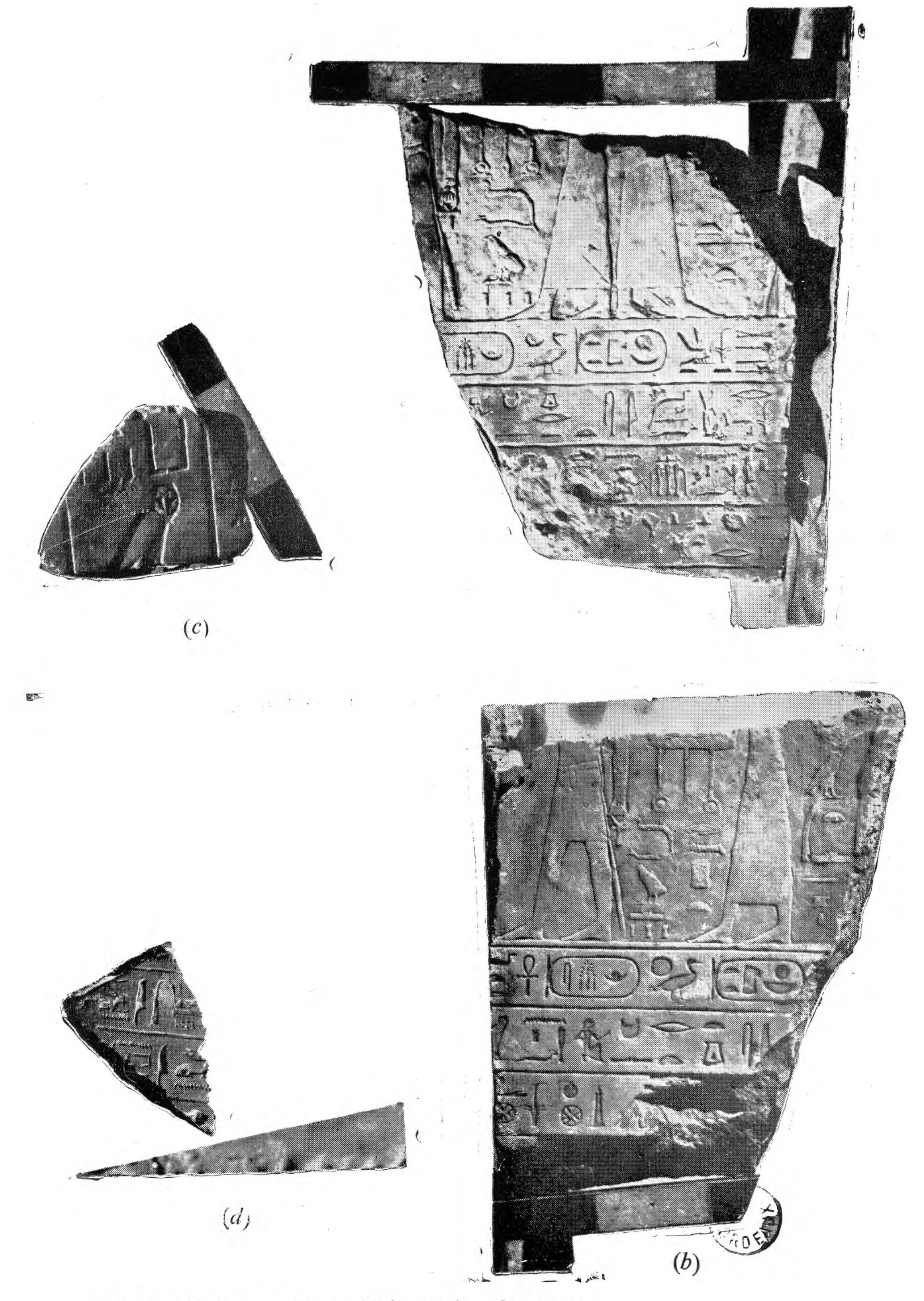
3 *b.*— Sobek Hotep III standing once before the Nile-god Hapy and then before god Amun-Re.



4 *a*.—Inscription on the thickness of the stela of Sobek Hotep III.



4 *b*.—A fragment of a stela of Ahmes.

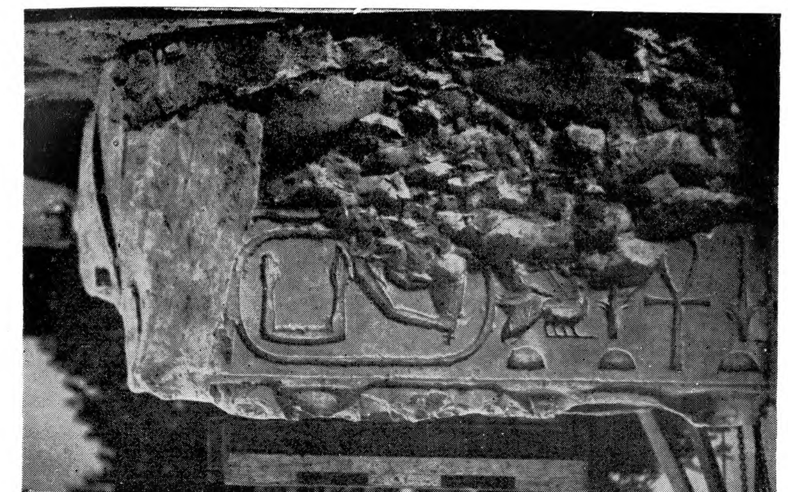


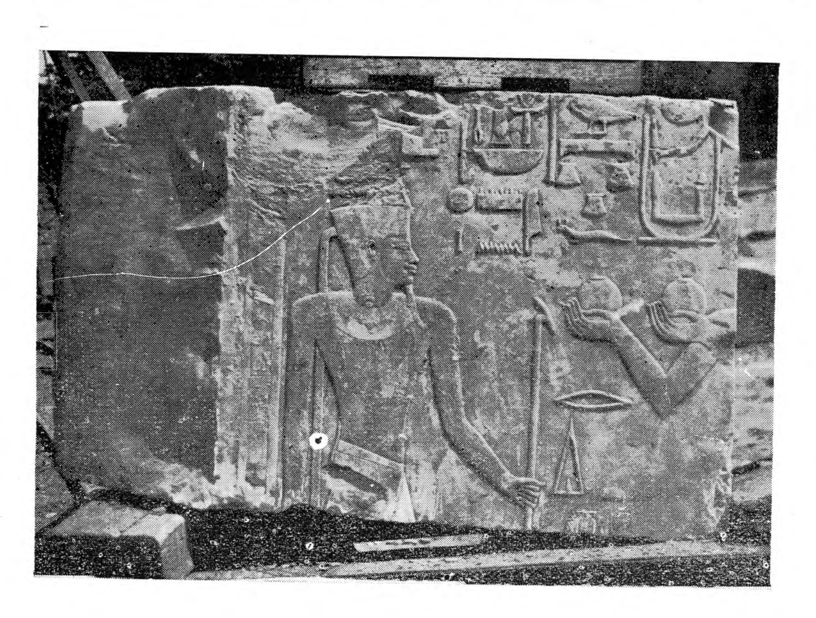
(c)

(d)

(b)

5 *a, b.*—The two faces of the stela of Ahmes.
a.—Ahmes is sailing southwards.
b.—Ahmes is crowned in Thebes.
5 *c, d.*—Two faces of a fragment of a stela.







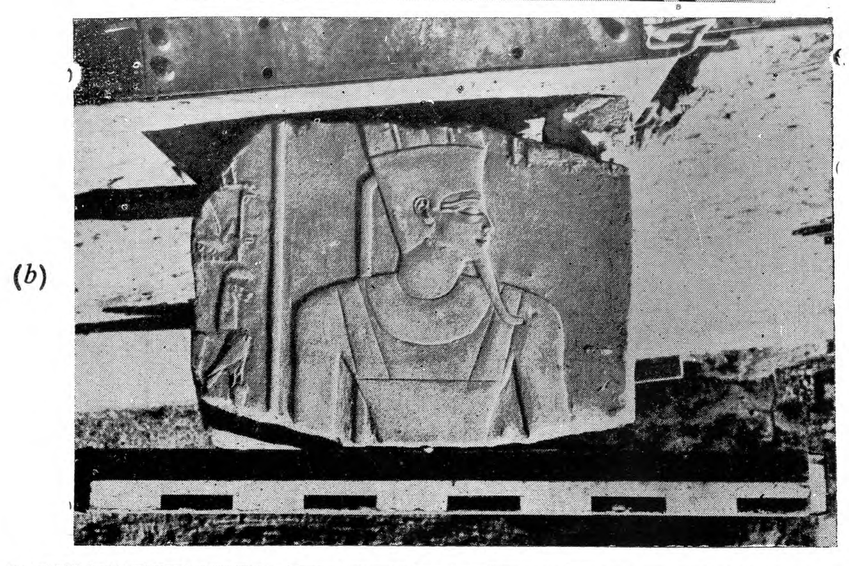
6.—Blocks bearing inscriptions and reliefs of Amenophis I.

Pl. VII

(*a*)



(*b*)



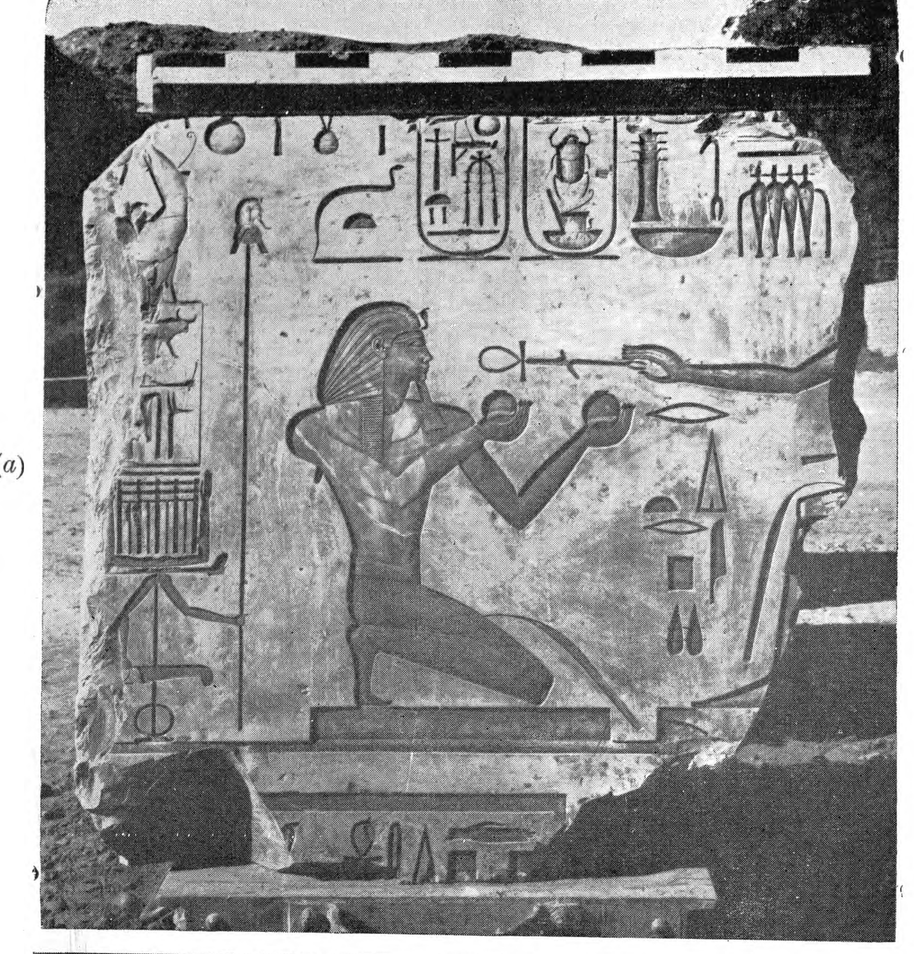
(*c*)



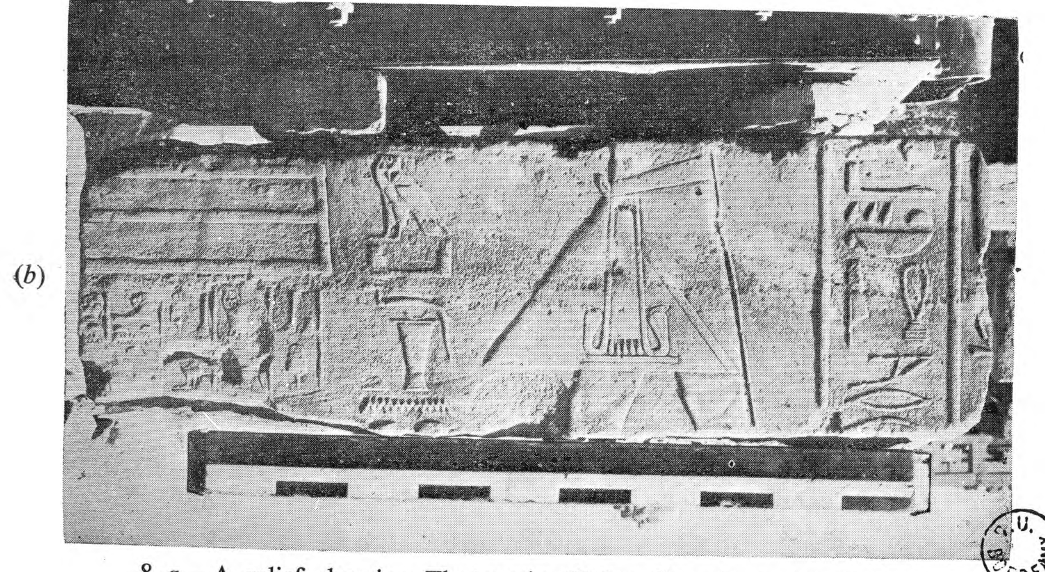
7 *a*.—Block bearing inscription of a king.
7 *b*.—Block bearing inscription of a god, probably of the reign of Amenophis I.
7 *c*.—Block showing a relief of the two legs of a god.

Pl. VIII

(*a*)



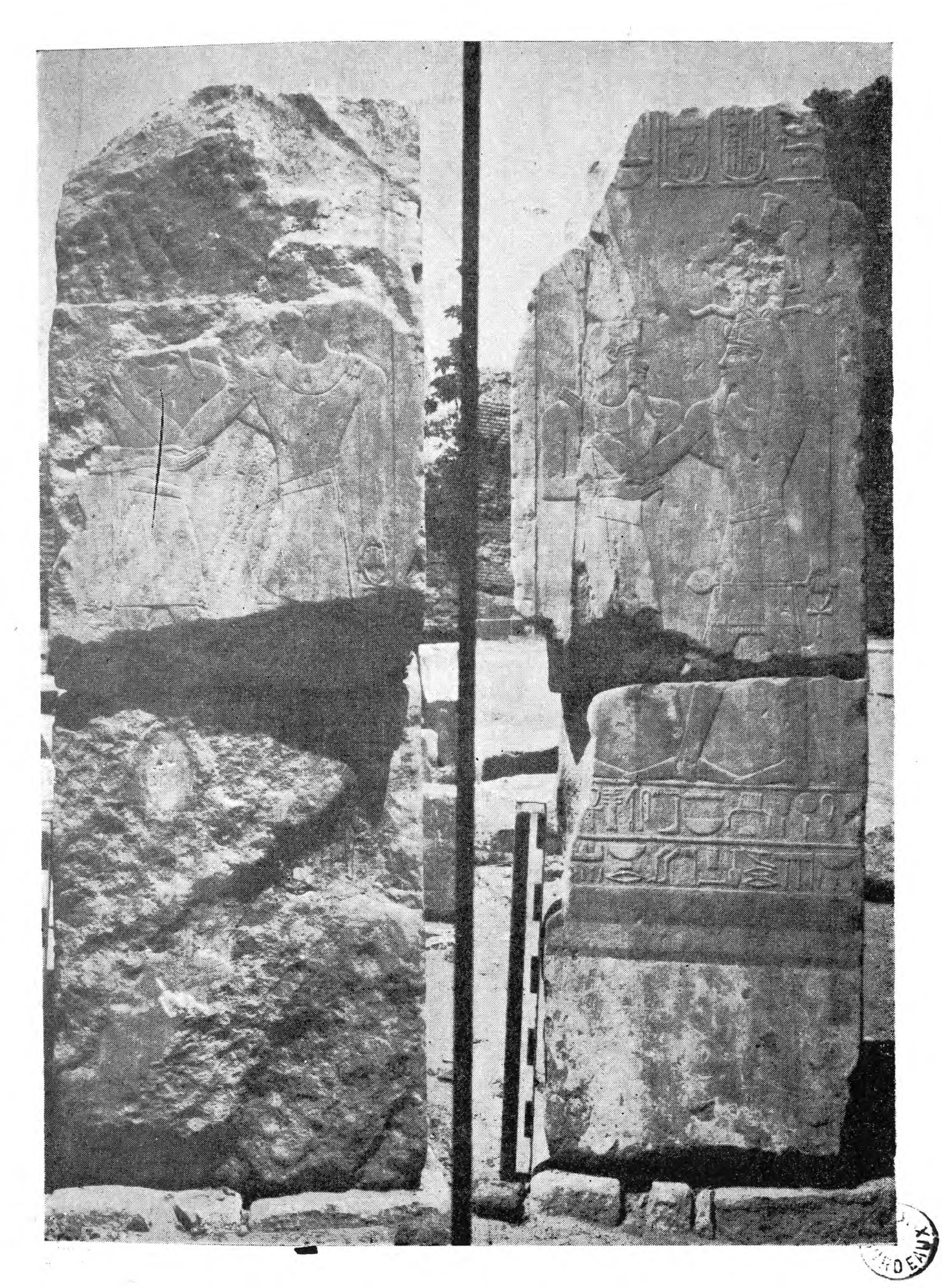
(*b*)



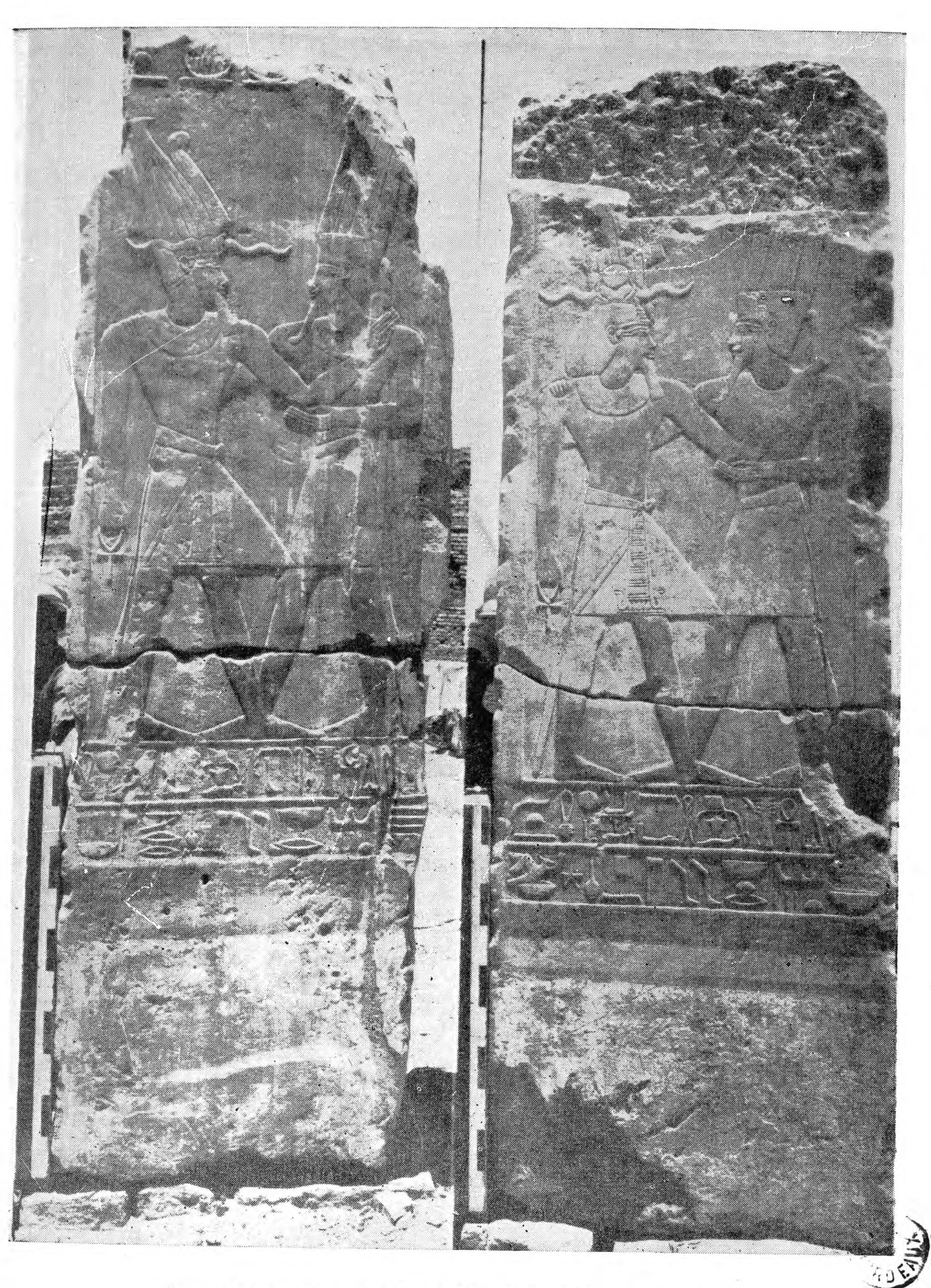
8 *a*.—A relief showing Thutmosis II knealing down to present an offering of milk to a god who is probably Amun-Re. Notice the exquisite workmanship of the sculpture, a prelude to the reign of Hatshepsut.



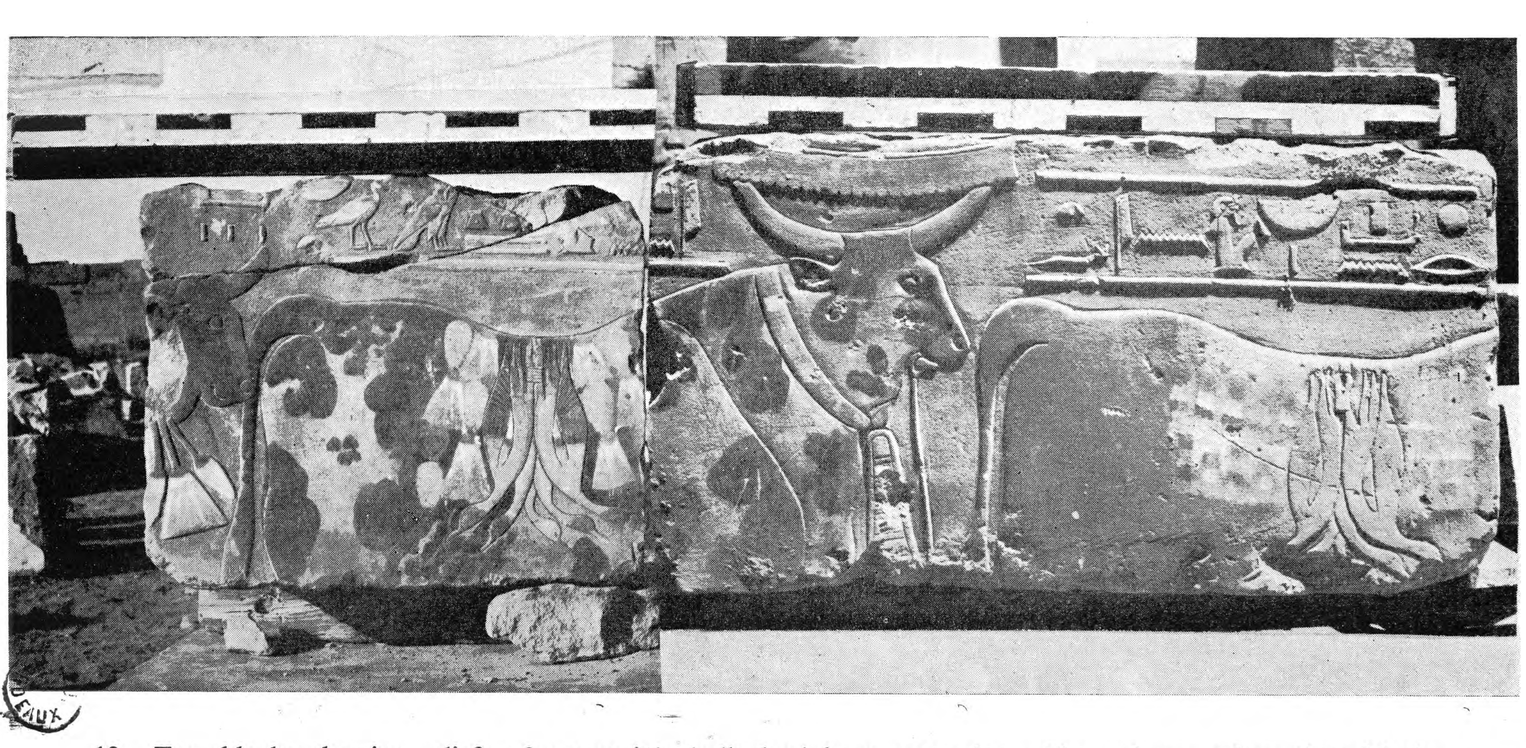
9.—Several blocks bearing the titulary of Thutmosis II.



10.—Pillar, Amun-Re embracing Thutmosis IV.

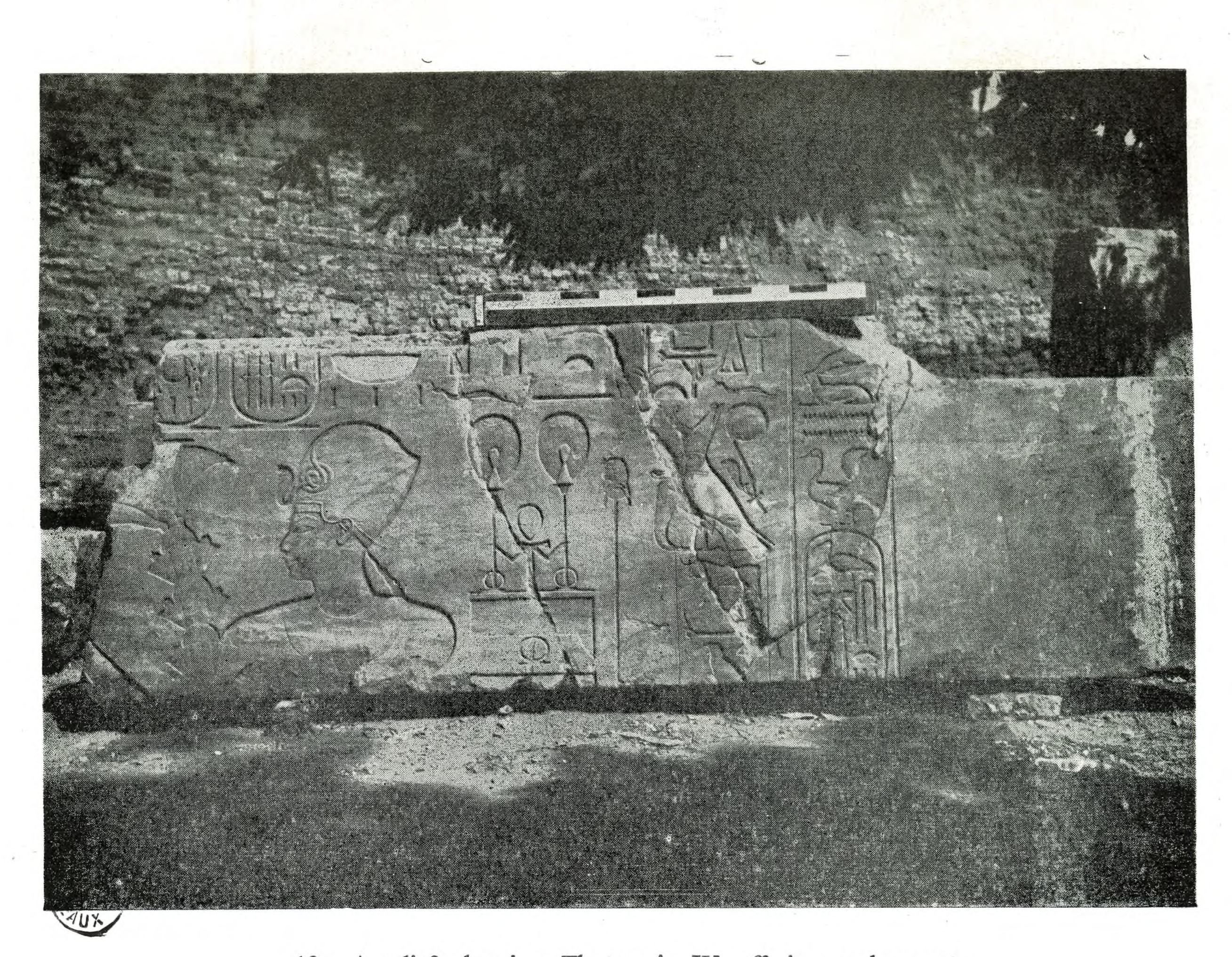


11.—Pillar, Amun-Re embracing Thutmosis IV.



12.—Two blocks showing reliefs of cermonial bulls lead in a procession. The colours, when these blocks were discovered, were still fresh and beautiful. They are probably of the reign of Thutmosis IV.

PL. XII

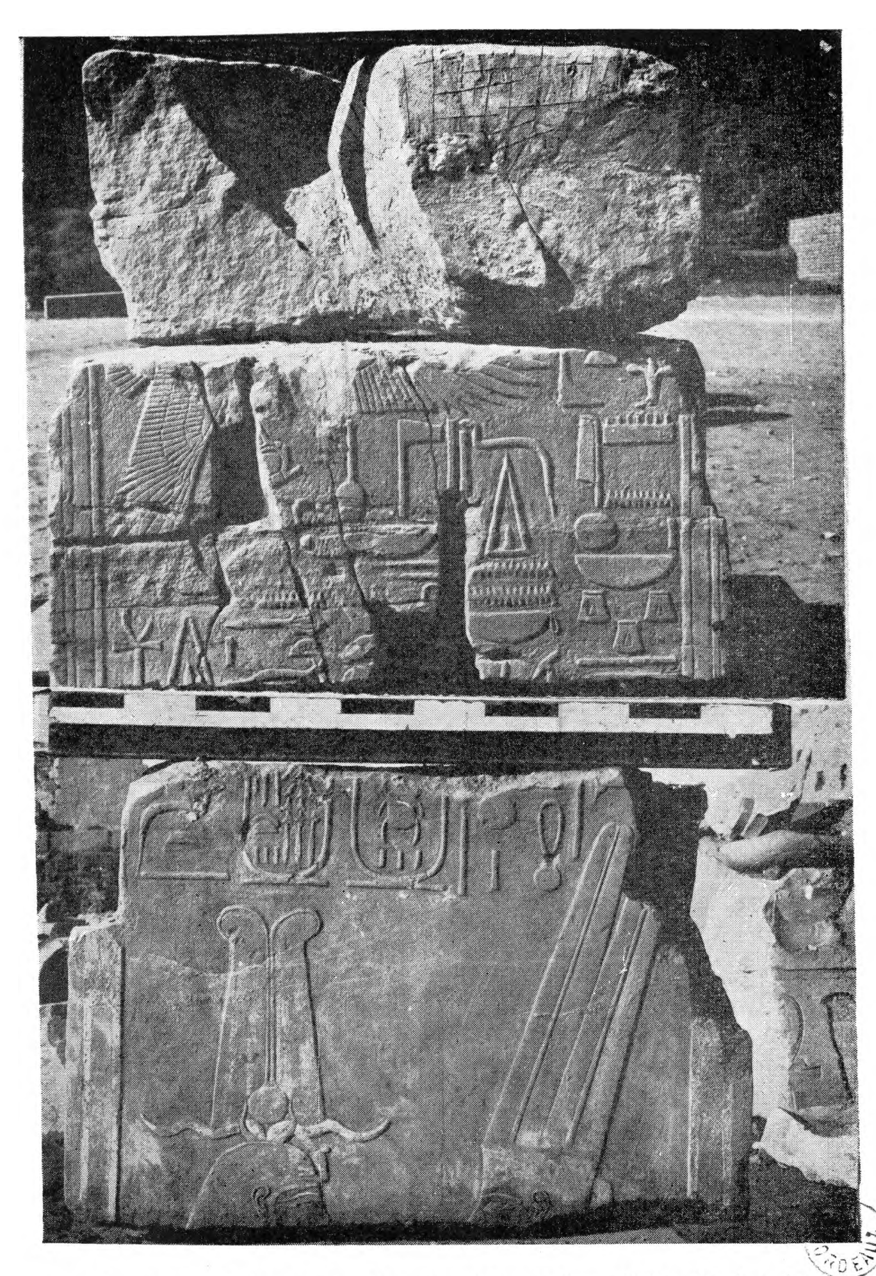


13.—A relief showing Thutmosis IV offering a bouquet.

Pl. XIII

Pl. XIV

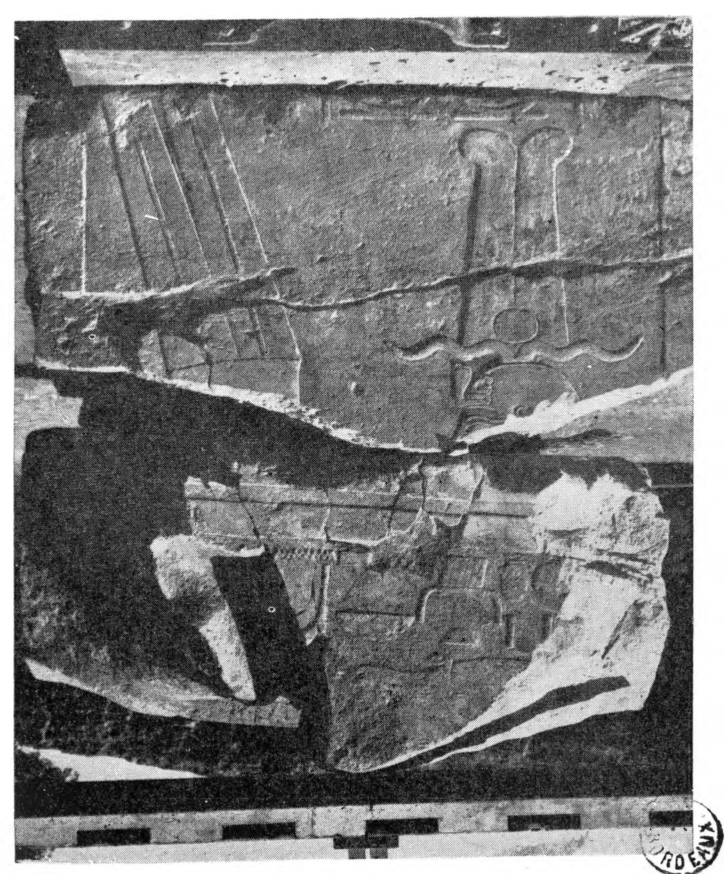
14.—Several blocks found in the foundation of the third pylon.



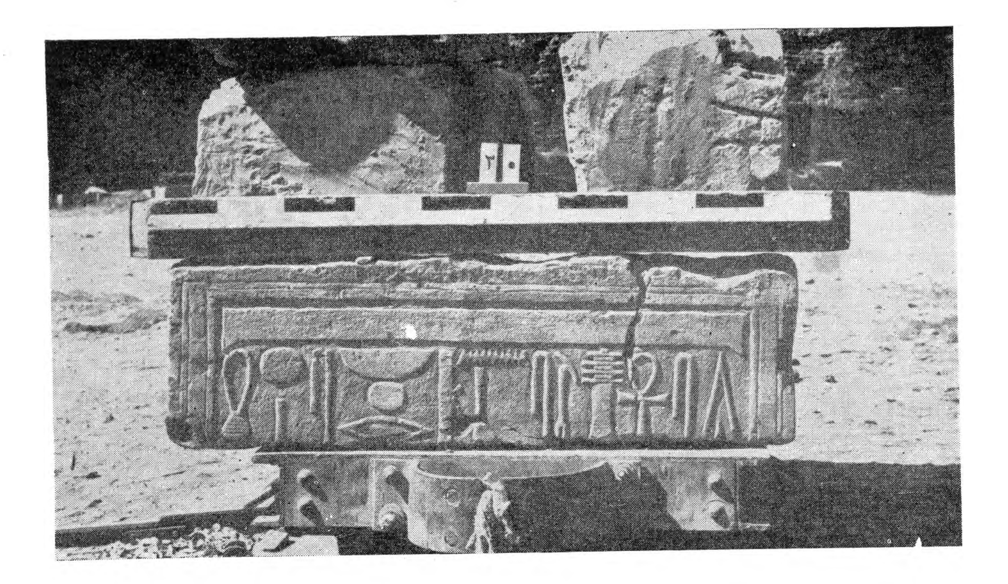
15.—Several blocks found in the foundation of the third pylon; One block bears the name of Thutmosis IV.

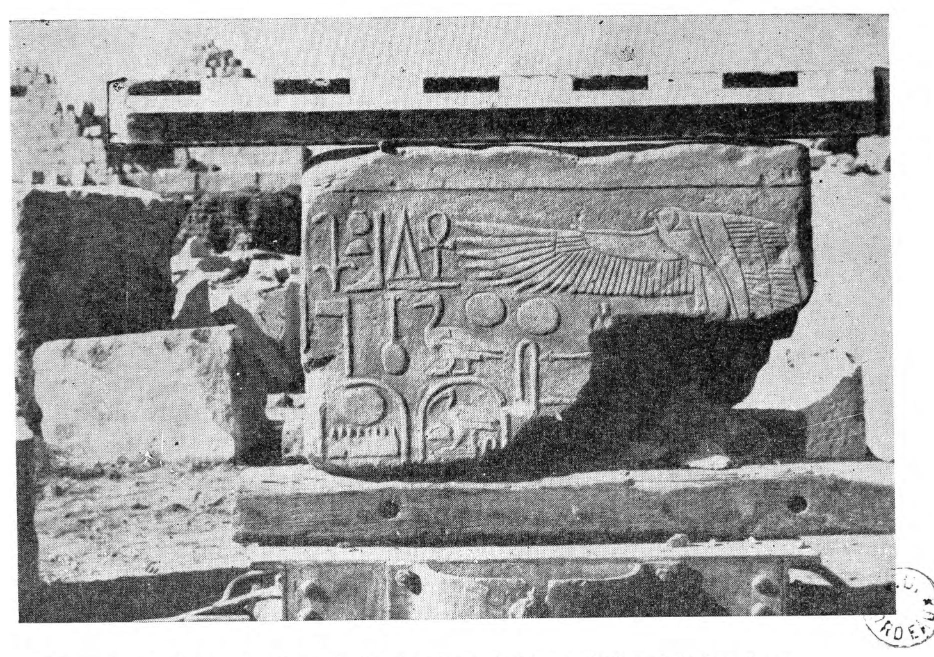


15.—Several blocks found in the foundation of the third pylon; One block bears the name of Thutmosis IV.

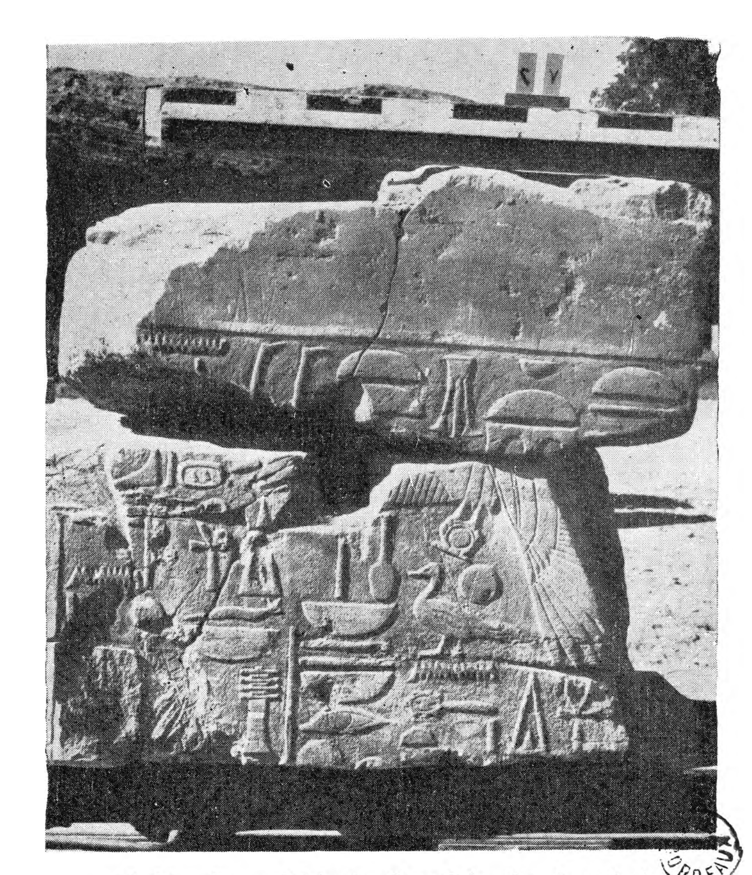


15 *bis*.—Several blocks found in the foundation of the third pylon.

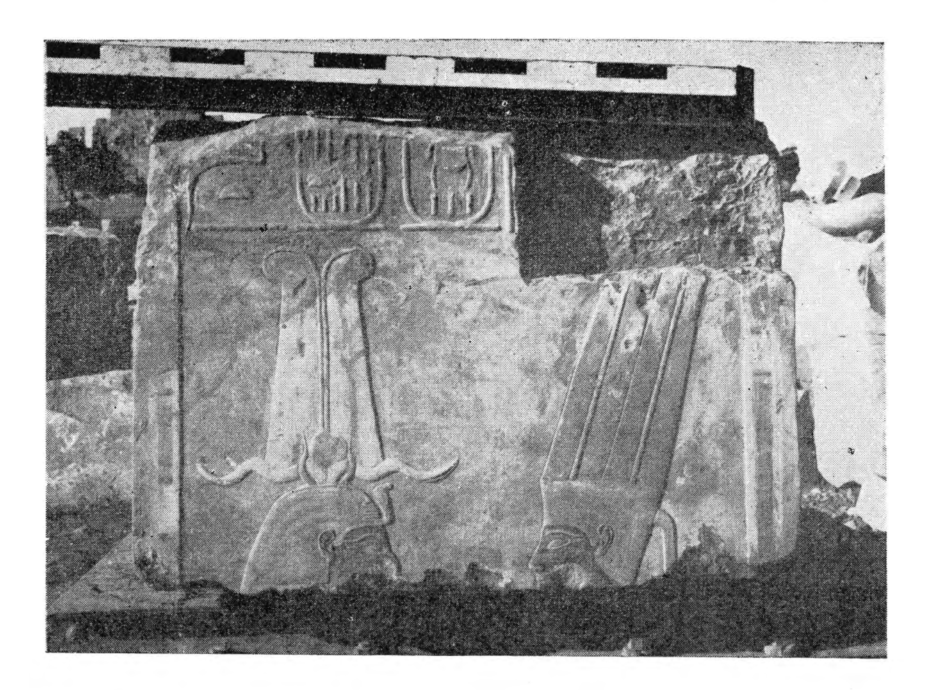


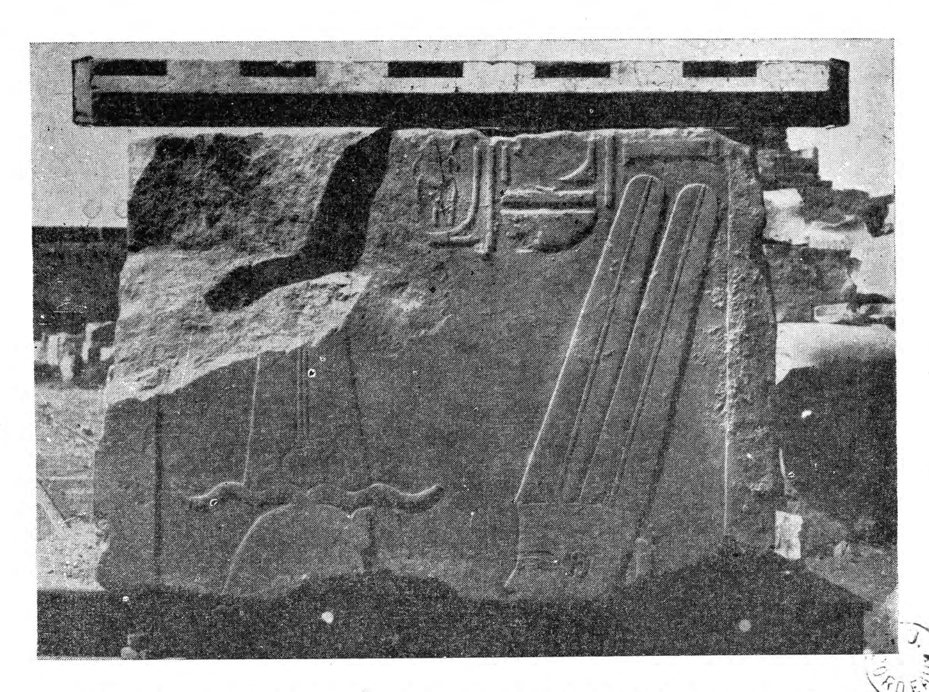


16.—Several blocks found in the foundation of the third pylon. One block bears the name of Thutmosis IV.

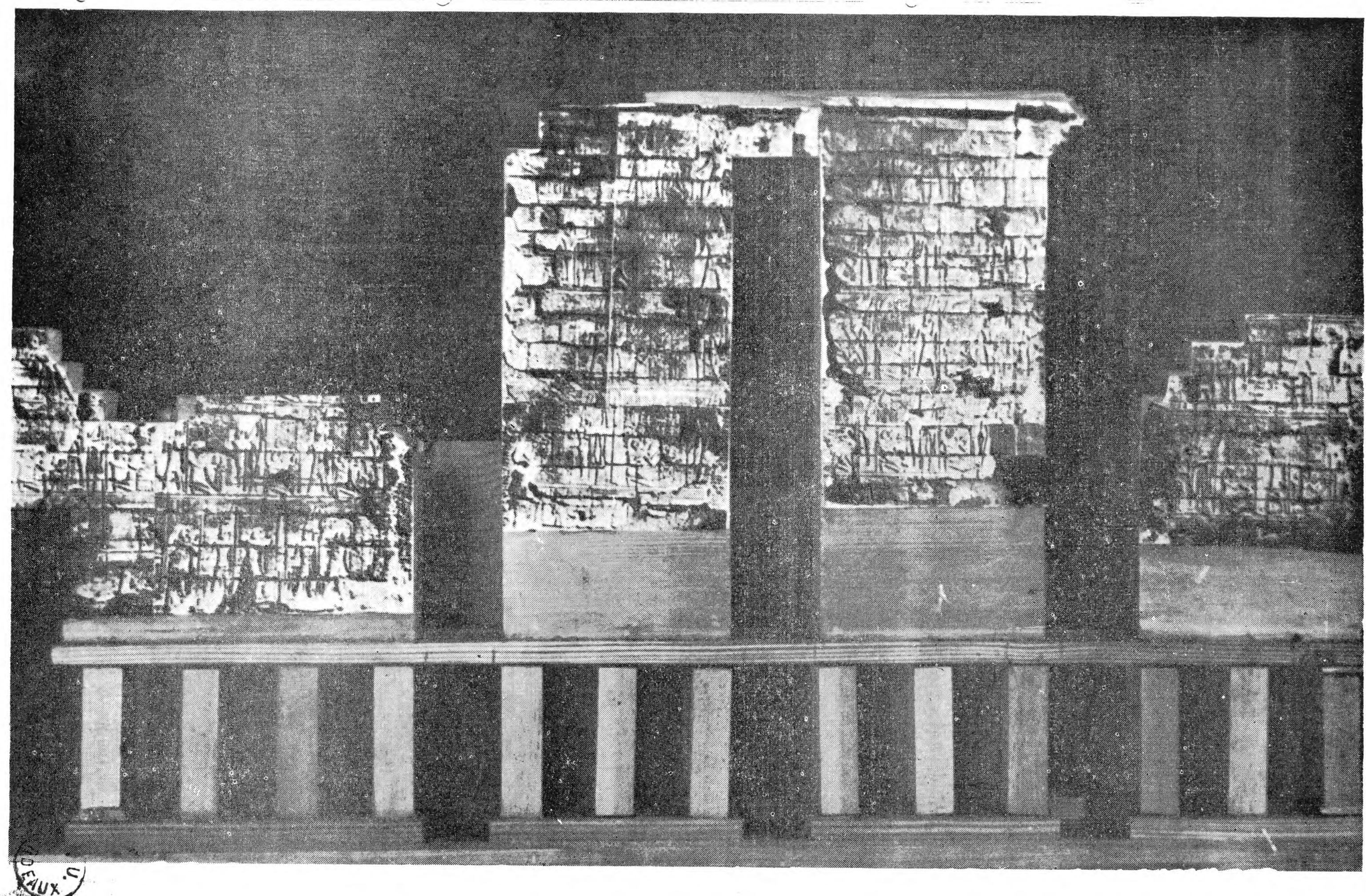


16. *bis*—Several blocks found in the foundation of the third pylon.



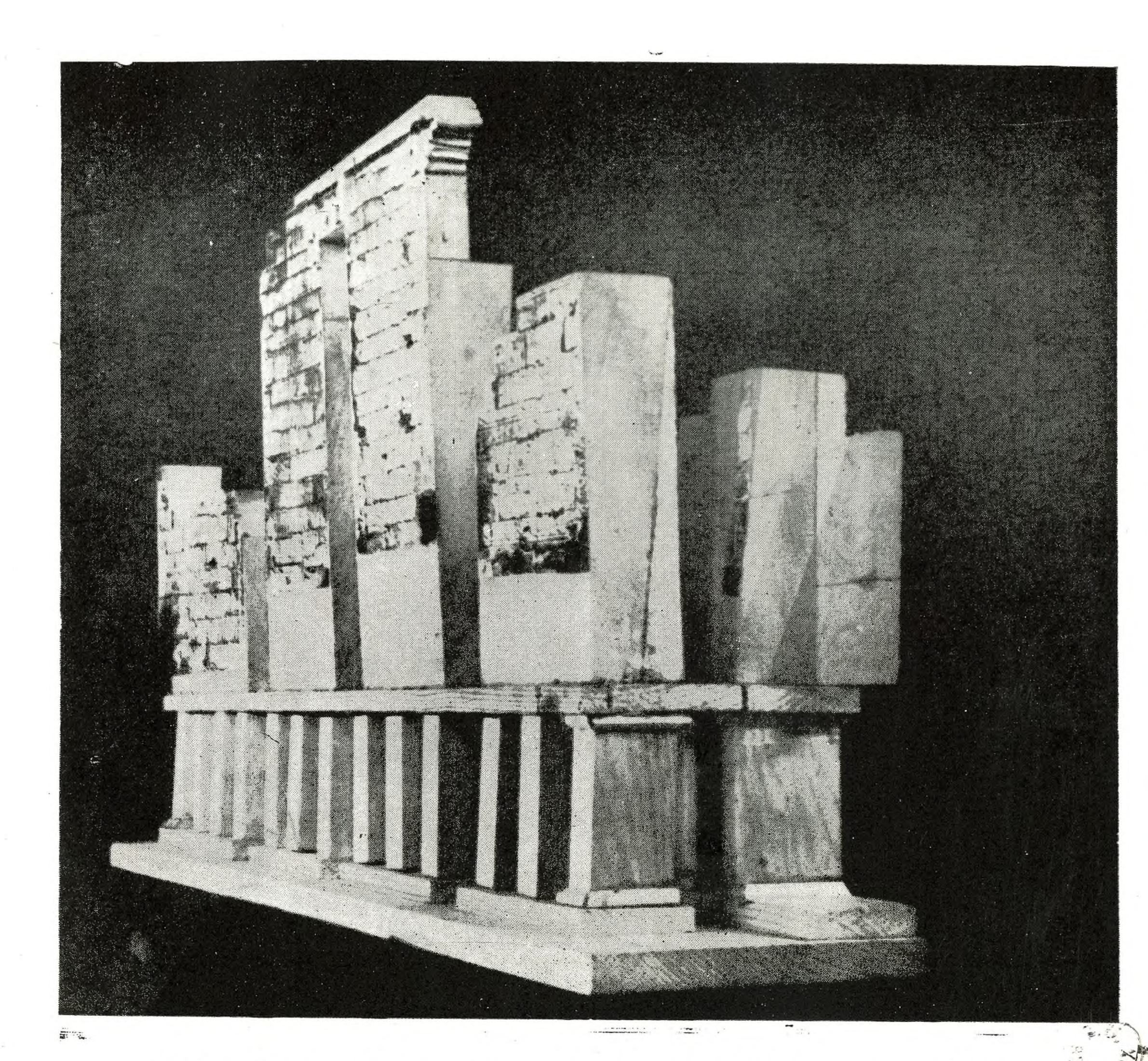


17.—Two reliefs showing king Thutmosis IV before Amun-Re.

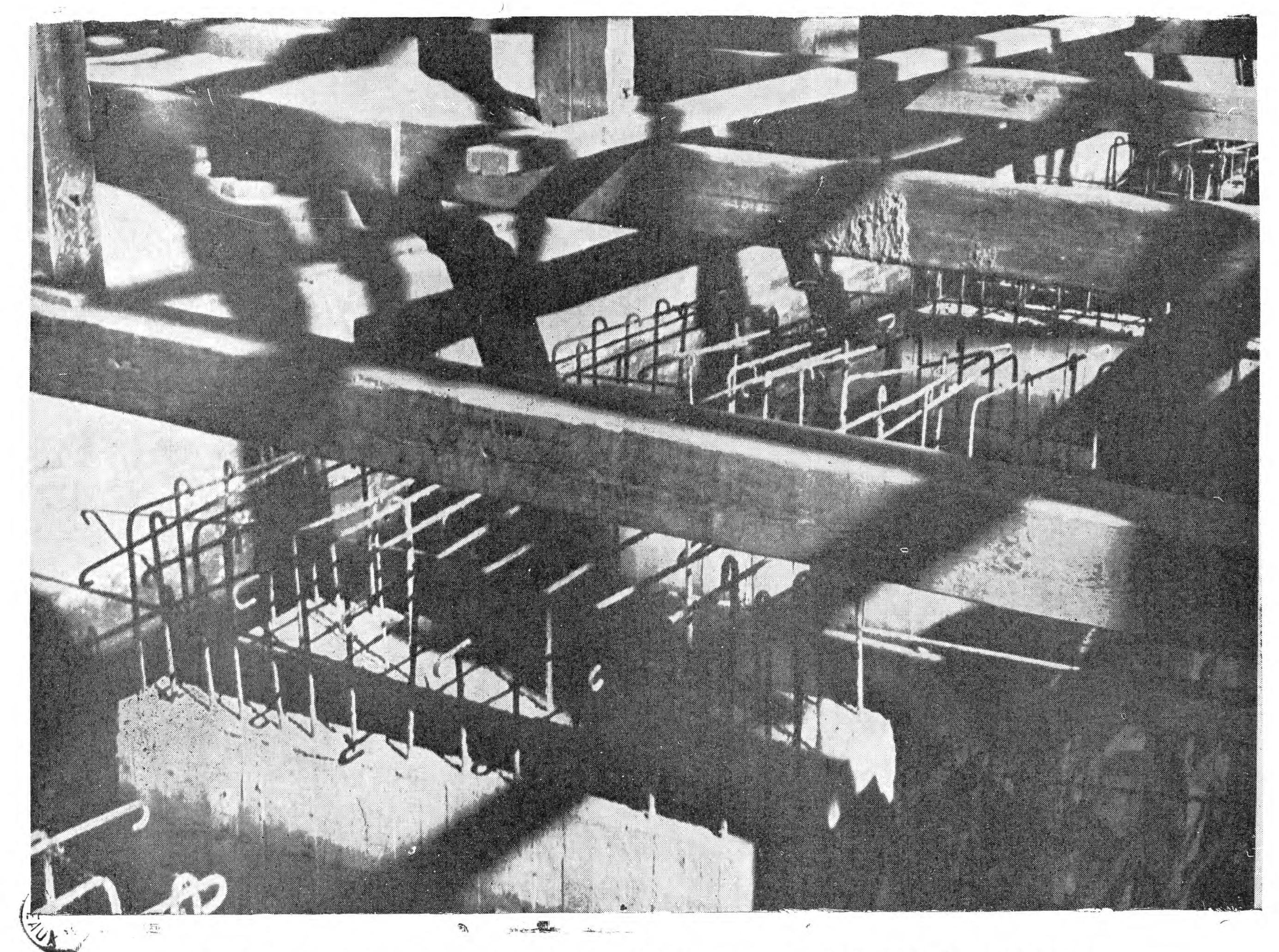


18.—Front view of the model of the third pylon after its reconstruction. Notice the pillars of re-inforced concrete which are used in the foundation instead of the re-used blocks.

Pl. XVIII



19.—Side-view of the model of the third pylon after its reconstruction.
Notice the two walls of the pylon, the west wall and the eastern wall which was hidden behind the former. A space will be left between the two walls to show this inner wall.



20.— The Re-inforced concrete pillars used in the new foundation of the third pylon.



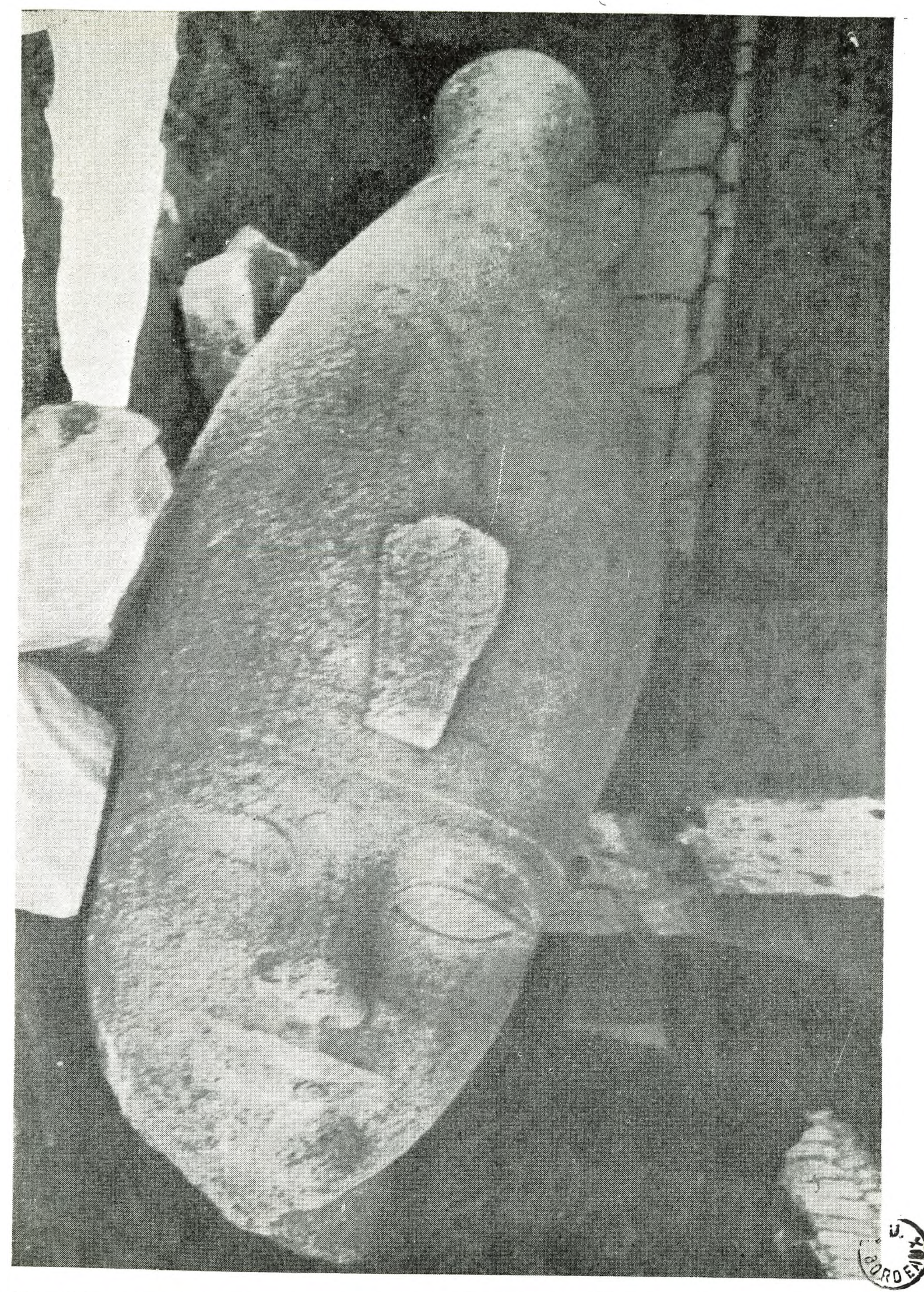
21.—A door-jamp found on the wall in the south east corner of the lake. It is of Ankh Ef Khonso son of the third prophet of Amun-Re.

Pl. XXII

22.—A priest knealing down before the ithyphallic Amun-Re. A stela found on the wall in the south-east corner of the lake.

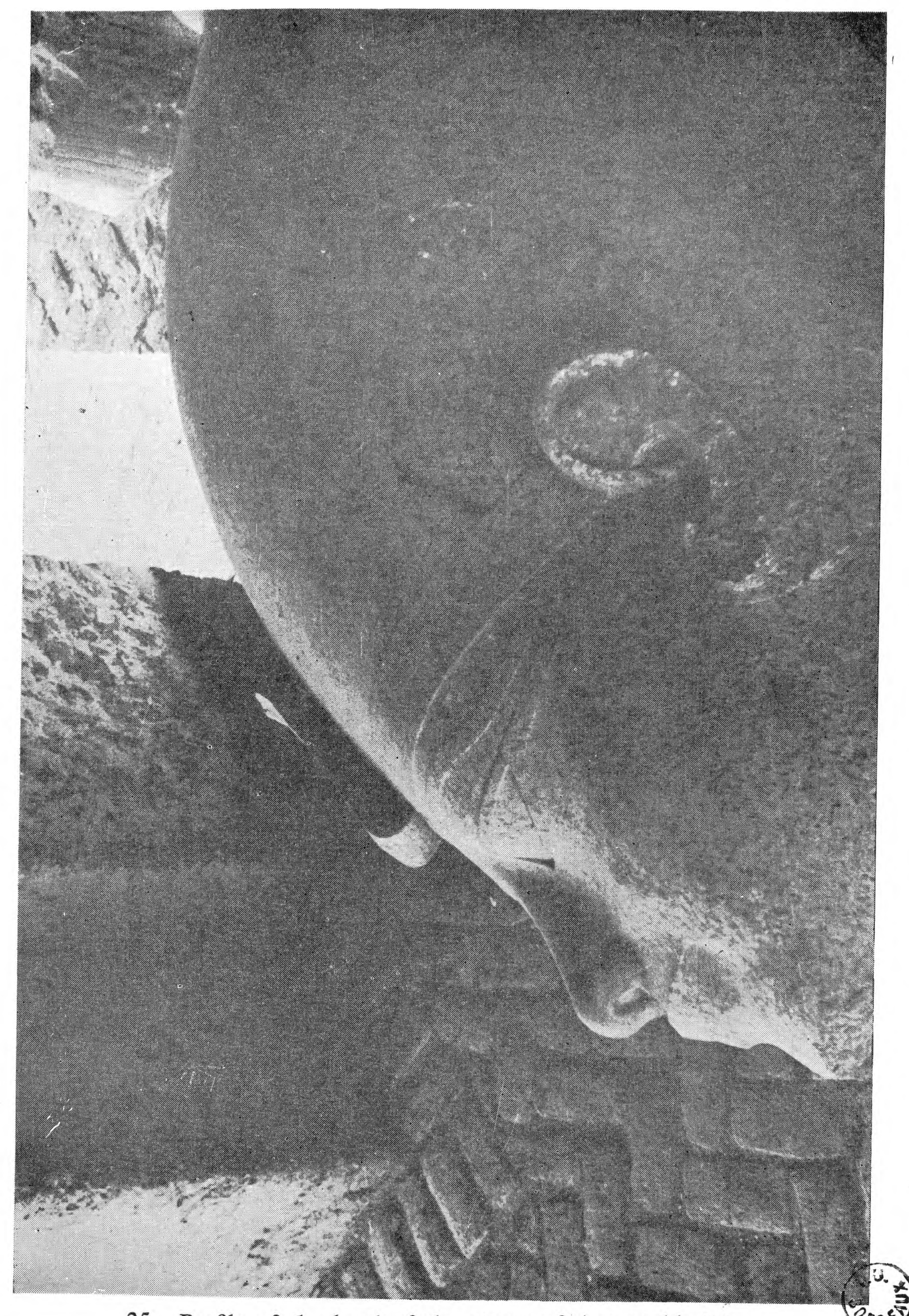


23.—The stela of Amenophis III after its erection in his funerary temple.

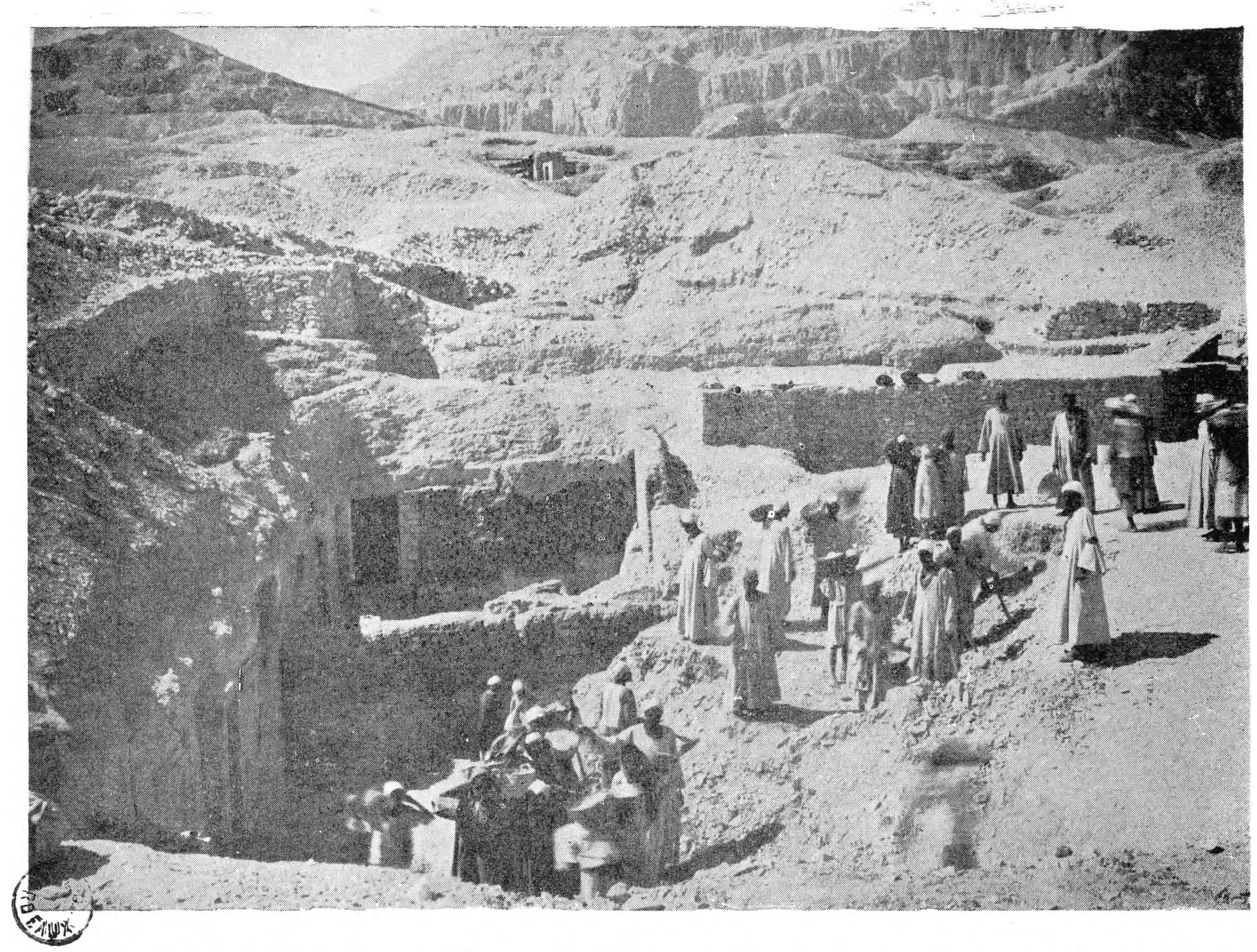


24.—Front view of the head of a statue of Amenophis III, found in his funerary temple at Gurna. Height : two metres. Gray granite.

Pl. XXV



25.—Profile of the head of the statue of Amenophis III.



26,—The court of the tomb of Kheruef before its clearance in 1958. Notice the Ramesside tombs which were hewn in the walls of the court, when the old tomb was neglected,

Pl. XXVI

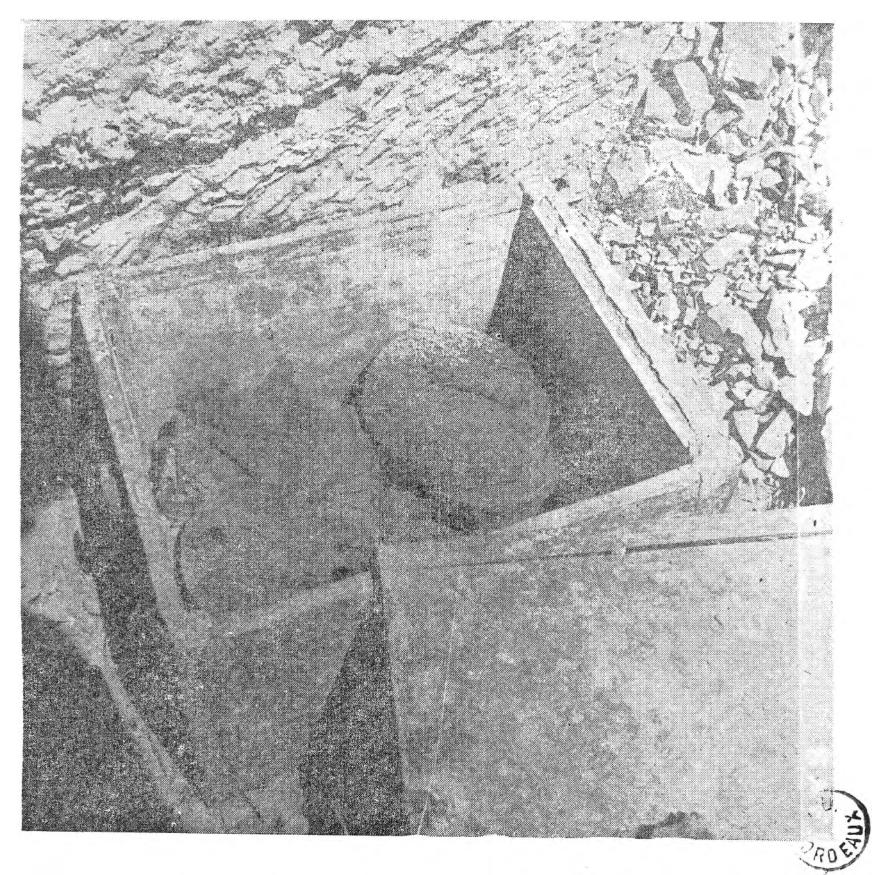


27.—A quartzite head found in the debris of the court of kheruef.
Height : 20 c.m.



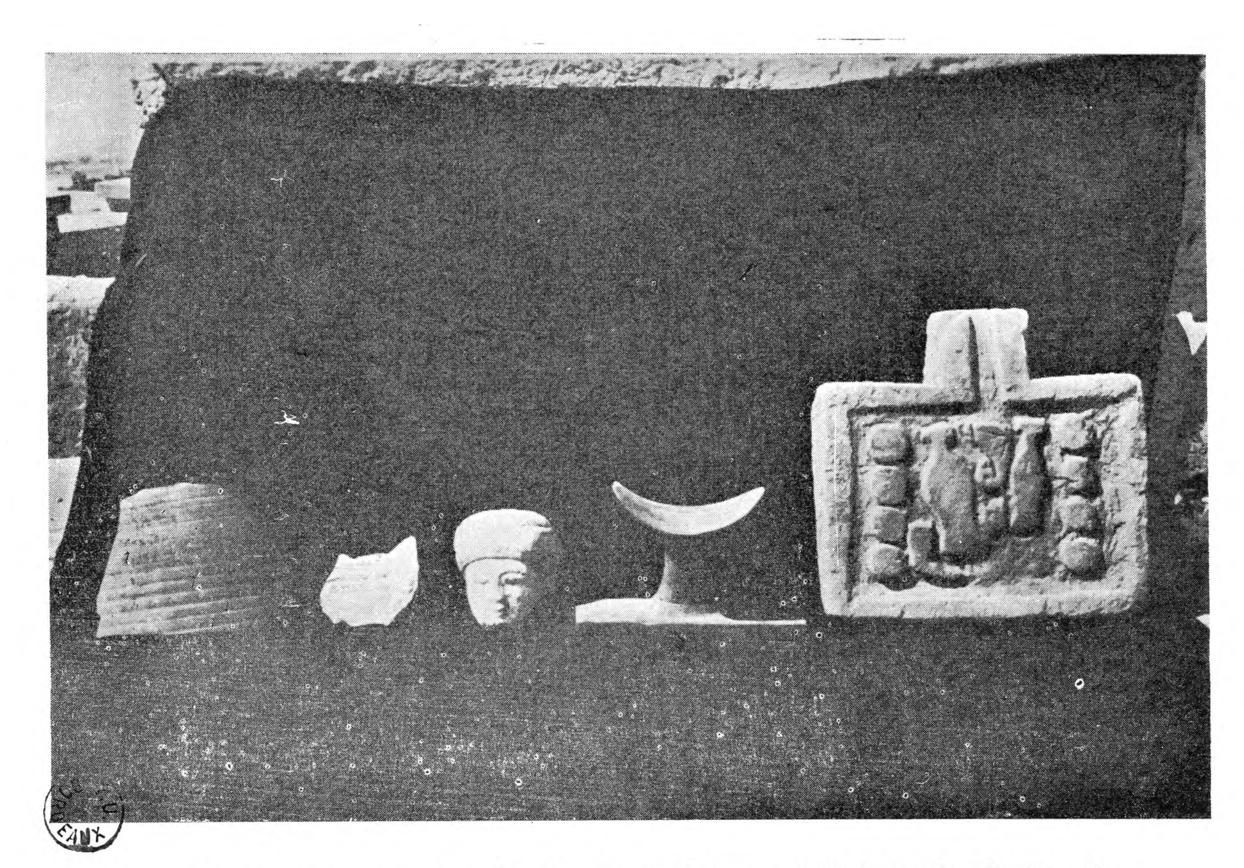
28.—A box containing discs of paints found in the debris of the court of Kheruef.

Pl. XXVIII *bis*

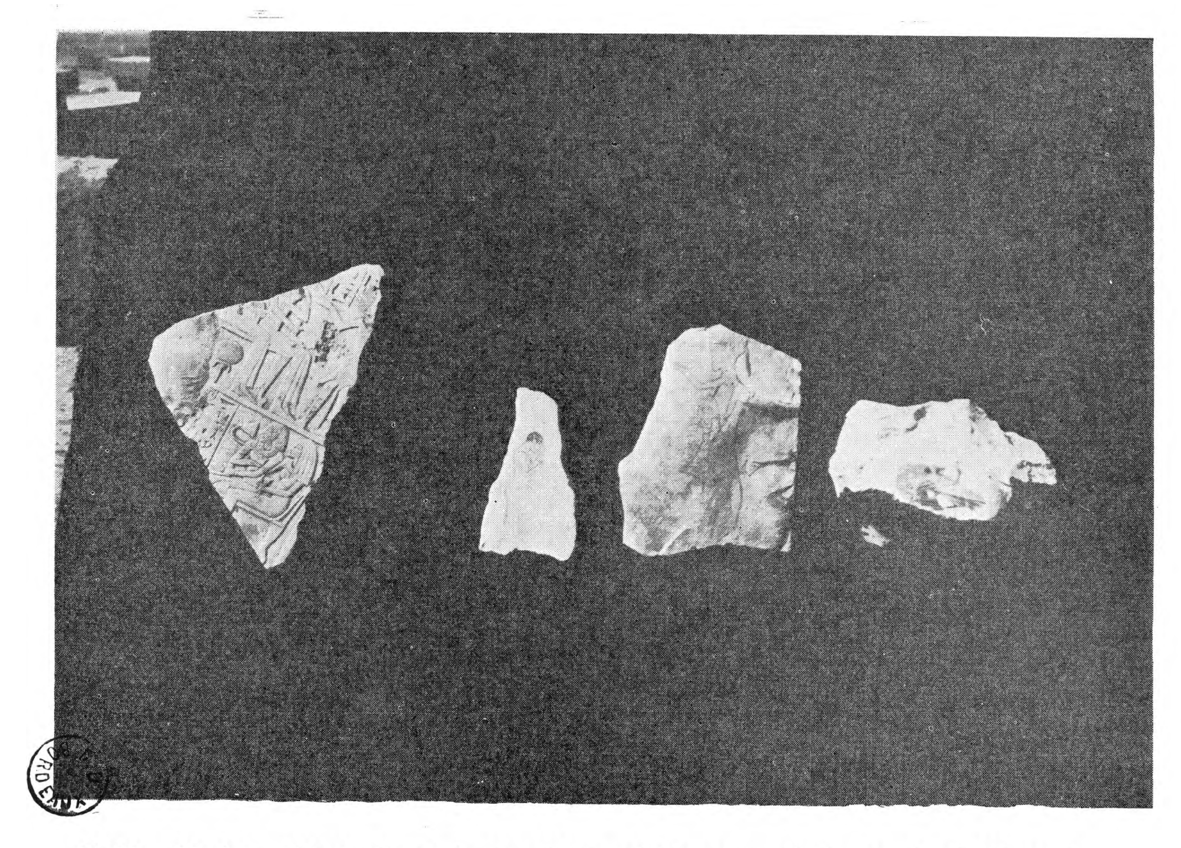


28 *bis*.— A box containing discs of paints found in the debris of the court of Kheruef

Pl. XXIX



29.—Various objects found in the debris of the court of the tomb of Kheruef.



29 *bis*.—Various objects found in the debris of the court of the tomb of Kheruef



CONTENTS

TWO THEBAN TOMBS
KYKY AND BAK-EN-AMUN

by

Dr. M. ABDUL-QADER MUHAMMED

1 9 6 3

INTRODUCTION

When at the beginning of 1959, I was Cheif Inspector of Antiquities for Upper Egypt, it was part of my duty to take charge of the clearance of the tomb of Kheruef on behalf of the Oriental Institute of Chicago University. I had, for lack of lorries at the beginning of the work, to look for a nearby place to put in the great amount of debris which filled the large court of this tomb. I noticed about 200 meters away a very deep pit which could serve that purpose. But as the level of its bottom was still sandy and higher than that of the rocky ground, I decided to sound the area, espescially as tombs Nos. 28 and 25, which were situated few meters away, are cut at a lower level.

On the 15th of January 1959 I began the work, and on the third day we came to an inscribed lintel of a tomb-door. We continued the work and soon we uncovered the entrance of a new tomb, that of Bak-en Amun. Gaining access into it, we found out that the tomb, which consists of several chambers is unfinished. However, through a breach in the right wall of the hall, we were able to creep into another chamber which was also full of debris. To our great surprise, the walls of this hall were painted with various interesting scences which are, on the whole, in a good state of preservation. This is the tomb of Sa-mut-ef called Kyky, chief accountant of the cattle of all the gods in the reign of Ramses II.

Both tombs were filled with debris ; at once I began their cleanance with the help of Mr. Ibrahim El-Nawawy, inspector of Gurna; Abdul-Mahboud Abdullah, chief gaurd of the Necropolis, Rayes Hafny Mahmoud and Rayes Tawfik Ali El-Hakim were in charge of the working men. On my request the Department sent El-Sayed Husein Sadek to make the necessary restoration and this was urgently needed since the salt had already destroyed many scenes. I myself photographed most of the scenes and copied the texts. Professor J. Wilson, then Field Director for Chicago in luxor, on his request, copied the longer texts. The draughtsmen Mahmoud Tawfik and Ismail Sadek did the inking and the drawing. My thanks to El-Sayed Ibrahim Kamel and to the Architects Moustafa Sobhy and the late Helmy Bacha for their valuable contribution to this work.

LIST OF PLATES

23. The boat carrying the coffin of Kyky. His wife is mourning over his dead body.
24. A boat towing the boat with the coffin. Detail from wall F.
25. Text from wall F.
26. Text from wall F.
27. Text from wall F.
28. Wall G. Upper register, the Judgement.
    Lower register, The ceremonial rites performed at the burial.
29. Detail from wall G. left side.
30. Detail from wall G. right side.
31. A group of mourning women, detail from wall G.
32. Text frm wall G.
33. Text from wall G.
34. Text from wall G.
35. Text from wall G.
36. Text of the frieze on wall G.
37. Text of the frieze on wall G.
38. Text of the frieze on wall E.
39. Wall H. Left side,
40. Wall H. Right side.
41. Kyky, detail from wall H.
42. Agriculture scene, detail from wall H.
43. Text from wall H.
44. Text from wall H.
45. Wall K. Before restoration.
46. Wall K. After its restoration.
47. Wall M. Left side.
48. Text from wall H. Upper register.
49. Text from wall H. Upper register.
50. Text from wall K. Upper register.
51. Text from walls K and M. Upper register.
52. Text from wall H. Lower register.

53. Text from wall H. Lower register.
54. Text from wall K. Lower register.
55. Wall M., Right side.
56. Text from wall M. with drawings.
57. Text oppsite Ptah Sokaris.
58. Text of the offering scene, wall M.
59. Text of the offering scene, wall M.
60. Text of Osiris, wall M.
61. Goddess Mut, detail from wall M.
62. The shrine of Amun Re, detail from wall M.
63. Kyky driving bulls for offering, detail from wall M.
64. Ceiling decoration.
65. Ceiling decoration.
66. Ceiling decoration.
67. Ceiling decoration.
68. Ceiling decoration.
69. Ceiling decoration.
70. Ceiling decoration.
71. Ceiling decoration.
72. Ceiling decoration.
73. Text on the ceiling of main aisle.
74. Text on the ceiling of the side aisle.
75. Text on the ceiling of the side aisle.
76. Kyky sitting, wall N.
77. Text on wall N.
78. Kyky offering a bouquet to Osiris. Wall P.
79. Text on wall P.
80. Wall P. Lower register.
81. Wall O.
82. Text on wall O.
83. Text on wall P., lower register.

84. Wall R. Upper register, the erection of the *ḏd*-pillar.

Lower register, goddess Nut supplying the deceased and his wife with cold water.

85. Wall R. A drawing.

86. Wall S. The mummy of the deceased is carried into the burial chamber.

87. Wall S. A drawing of last.

88. Wall T. Right side.

89. Wall T. Left side.

90. Wall W. The niche of statues. These are four, two men sitting in the center surrounded on each side by a woman.

91. The inscriptions on the four statues.

92. Ceiling inscription of the aisle of entrance.

THE TOMB OF BAKEN AMUN

93. The entrance, wall A.

94. Text on lintel of wall A.

95. Text on the two jambs of entrance.

96. Doorway of second chamber, wall B.

97. Text on wall B.

98. Wall C. A primitive representation of a Ramesside King.

99. The group-statue of Baken Amun, broken to pieces.

100. The head of Baken Amun and his wife and the torso, these are parts of the broken statue.

101. A profile of the head of Baken Amun.

102. A profile of the head of the wife of Baken Amun.

103. The shaft found outside the Tomb of Baken Amun.

104. The shaft after its clearance.

105. A coffin found in the debris over the shaft.

106. The inscription on the coffin.

107. The coffin found about 200 metres from the tomb of Kyky.

THE TOMB OF KYKY

The court of the tomb of Kyky forms in fact a part of a great common court which is cut in the rocky ground and joins together the tomb of Baken-Amun (No. 408), the tomb of Amenemhab (No. 25), and the tomb of Hori (No. 28), and probably other tombs in the south side which has not yet been excavated owing to the huge amount of debris which covers the area. However for each tomb there is a small private court, the walls of which are constructed of mud-bricks. Part of these walls are still in existance.

Such common courts were found elsewhere in the Theban necropolis such as for example the huge court of the tomb of Kheru-ef. This huge court was first cut down in the rocky surface in order to provide a suitable façade for the tomb; for by the time of Amenophis III, the hill of sheikh Abdul-Qurnah was filled with tombs of earlier date, and so the nobles were compelled to look for new sites in the plain; in order to achieve this, they had to hew courts sunk in the rocky surface. Such examples are the courts of the tomb of Ra-mose, and the tomb of Kha-em-hat. Then the later Ramesside nobles made use of these already prepared courts, and cut tombs for themselves in their sidewalls when the first owner was no longer there, and probably by that time, the earlier tomb was completely neglected. Many of these tombs were usurped and re-used. In the tomb of Kheruef, few pits containing later burials were found in the first hall. Such burials were common in the Theban Necropolis.

Our court of the tombs of Kyky and Bak-en-Amun is also of the same nature. Its rock is of a very good quality and some rich nobleman probably of the Eighteenth Dynasty might have hewn it for the first time, then those Ramesside dwellers were late intruders. As one side of the court has only been excaveted, we are not sure of what lies in the opposite direction but we have

to wait for future excavations. Undoubtledly there are other tombs in this court and in other places in El-Asasif; for example further east, I located a tomb which lies to the north of tomb 188, on the edge of the road leading to the inspectorate and west of 39. I uncovered part of its-façade, but as I was tranferred from luxor, I was not able to continue its excavation. Later a coffin (pl. 107) was discovered in the debris.

The Decoration of the Tomb :—

Though the rock of the tomb is of a good quality Kyky, apparently for economic reasons as well as expedience, could not decorate his tomb in high releif, but preferred a cheaper method. Thus the inscriptions of the tomb-façade are incized and coarse.

But the two portraits of Kyky which were depicted on the two reveals of the entrance are in high relief and finely executed. They are the best in the tomb.

In the first chamber the walls are covered with a thin layer of plaster on which the scenes are painted, but the inscriptions are in incised Hieroglyphics. And though the coluring of a few scenes is beautiful such as the boat (Pl. 23) the Hather head (Pl. 21), yet the cutting of the hieroglyphic signs is rough, the edges, in many places, are not sharp, but rounded.

The walls of the inner chamber are also covered with a thin layer of plaster, but the decoration had not been completed. On the right wall, the scenes are painted; but on the left they are only sketched in ink, owing probably to the sudden death of the tomb-owner.

Though the tomb is small as fits in with the position of its owner, yet the colouring of its outer chamber is one of the best quality in the reign of Ramses II, and it should rank high among the important monuments of the Theban Necropolis as a whole.

Date of Tomb :—

The tomb is constructed in the reign of Ramses II whose name was found in two places, once on the shrine of Amun-Re (Pl. 62), and again at the beginning of the inscription dedicated to the goddess Mut, but unfortunatly the part of the inscription which gives the exact number of the year is completely destroyed (Pls. 39, LII).

The Façade :—

The façade is decorated with two stelae, one on each side of the door. A wall of mud-bricks is built along the top of the façade to prevent sand and stone from falling in and blocking the entrance. A small court, the walls of which are also of mud-bricks, is constructed in front of the tomb. Pls. 2, 3.

The inscriptions on the lintel and the two jambs of the door, as well as those on the two stelea are in sunk relief and not of a high merit.

On the lintal, Kyky and his wife Rʿiay are represented on the right side adoring Re-Horakhty and Maʿat (Pl.4,5) Re-Horakhty is represented seated as a hawk headed human being crowned with the sun-disc, Maʿ at in the form of a woman wearing on her head the feather, her symbol.

On the left side, Kyky with another lady called Ta-Semenet who is probably a second wife for she is called in the text, the lady of the house, but not *snt.f* as Rʿiay is called. Her name was also found in other places (Pl. XXXVII) They are adoring Osiris and Isis.

The Two Jambs :—

The two jambs are as usual decorated with *Ḥtp-di-nsw* prayers (Pl. 5). On the right side, the prayers are dedicated to Re-Hor-Akhty, Maʿat and Thot; on the left side to Osiris Horus, avenger of his father, and Isis *wrt*.

The Stelae :—

On each side of the door, a rounded-top stela is cut within a rectangular false-door (Pl .3). Each top corner is decorated with the eye of Horus.

The right stela Pl. 6: Kyky and Rʿiay adoring Osiris and Isis *wrt* and offering them a bouquet. The top of the stela is adorned with the sun-disc which is fitted with one wing.

The text (Pl. 7) on the lower half is badly destroyed but there is enough left to show that it is a prayer addressed to the god Amun-Re-Hor-Akhty.

The left side stela (Pl. 8) Kyky and Rʿiay offering flowers to Re-Hor-Akhty and Maʿat. Like the former the top of the stela is adorned with one-winged sun disc. On the lower half a hymn (Pl. 9) is addressed to Amun Re-Hor-Akhty.

The relief is of a very poor quality, and most probably was made in a rush.

The Two Reveals Of The Entrance :—

On the right reveal (Pl. 13) Kyky is represented facing inwards adoring a god who is not depicted but whose name is given in the text as Osiris.

On the left reveal Kyky is facing outwards, and raising both hands in adoration of the unrepresented sun-god Re-Hor-Akhty when he shines forth in the eastern horizon (Pl. 10. 11. 12).

This portrait, contrary to all the other scenes of the tomb is in high relief, while the inscription in front is in sunk relief. It is masterly sculptured and painted. The face of Kyky shows alertness, self-assurance and determination. He is clad, in accordance with the custom of the time, in white clothes. This representation of Kyky going in and out of the tomb adoring Osiris and Re-Hor-Akhty is typically Ramesside.

In the lower register, a harpist is depicted welcoming with an encouraging song the arrival of Kyky to dwell in his home of eternity. In the Eighteenth Dynasty, it was the custom to represent the harpist chanting in the banquet scenes and never alone; but in many tombs of the Ramesside period, the harpist is shown in a separate scene and often on the lower part of a reveal.

The First Chamber :—

The scenes on the walls of this chamber and also on those of the second chamber, are typically Ramesside, because the representations of the gods as well as those scenes which were copied from the Book of the Dead had never been employed in the decoration of the chapels of the private tombs except right at the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty.

The new tendency is manifest in the frieze. The decoration here shows Kyky and his wife praying alternately once to Anubis couching on his shrine, then to Hathor head which is beautifully painted (Pl. 15, 21, 36, 37, 38).

Wall E : *Pls.* 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21:—

This wall is divided into two registers. In the upper half is the normal Ramesside representation showing Kyky and his wife asking admission into the Nether-World.(Pl. 15). These are six gates,three in each row; behind each is a genie holding a spear in one hand and a knife in the other.

In the lower register there is a scene which was not fashionable in the Ramesside period, but it owes its existance to the nature of the tomb-owner's profession.

Unfortunately the right side of the wall is badly destroyed, but what is left of the scene gives us a fair picture of the type of oxen in the reign of Ramses II. These are coloured yellow, black and white, and red. Pls. 16, 18.

Kyky is seen standing at the right end followed probably by one of his scribes inspecting the oxen, which are shown in two rows; but owing to the destruction of this part of the wall, we are not quite sure of their owner, though the text above each group (Pl.18) indicates that they belong to the temples of the gods.

Wall F ; *Pls.* 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27 :—

The wall, as is usual in this tomb, is divided into two registers

The scene in the upper register is almost completely destroyed, but a few traces are left to show that this is the usual banquet scene.

To the right are relatives in two rows. In the upper row, two ladies are left of the whole scene ; in the lower, we can only trace one man with certainty.

These relatives, male as well as female, are sitting on chairs, while their legs resting on mats, a feature of the luxurious life of the Egyptians of that age.

At the other end of the register a priest is represented offering to a man and his wife. The man is sitting on a chair, while the woman on a stool. Though those might be the tomb-owner and his wife we cannot be certain.

The Lower Register : *The funeral..Pl.* 22, 23, 24 :—

The scene depicted here is part of the funeral scene which continues on the next adjoining wall G. (pl. 28) the representation is typically Ramesside.

The funeral represented here is in the Ramesside style, when the long complicated rituals and texts had been cut off.

We are confronted here with the crossing of the river from the east bank (or might be after the return from the pilgrimage to Abydos and other religous centres), to the west bank, where the necropolis is situated.

The boat carrying the coffin is towed across the river by two boats, in each are seven rowers Pl. 24, 27 (whether these rowers are all the crue in the boat, or whether they only represent the rowers facing us, is difficult to state, owing to the peculiarity of the Egyptian style). In each boat there is a cabin for the mourners.

The anthropoid coffin is shown within the shrine and the wife of Kyky is seen weeping over her husband *pl.* 23. Outside the big coffin, Isis is represented at the feet of the deceased, Nephthys at the head, reciting their incantations. At the prow Anubis, god of the necropolis and the guide of the dead into the Netherworld, is standing on a standard. The coffin is adorned with huge bouquets. At the top of the scene conventional offerings are shown set on tables, and covered by flowers.

At Landing:—

In front (pl.22, 25, 26) the boat, within which the coffin is placed, is carried by five couples of men; Kyky's wife is shown walking in their midst. It is always assumed in Egyptian burial customs that the man will die before his wife who will see him right to the door of his tomb. This might be explained that the wife is often younger than the man. Then come the bearers of the coffin which contains the conopic jars. These are three couples; among them are two boys crying and probably putting dust on their heads, then come the mourning women who put dust on their heads.

The Arrival At The Tomb : *Pls.* 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33,34,35 :—

The scene at the tomb is badly destroyed ; we see the upper part of a mummy to whom a priest is burning incense and giving libation, followed by another who is reading the ritual of *'Opening The mouth'*. Behind the priest lamenting women are grouped at the end of the wall where the façade of the tomb is represented.

The representation of this rite taking place in the court before the tomb-façade is entirely new. Offerings are given on this occassion. In the Eighteenth Dynasty the funeral offerings were presented to the deceased and

his wife in a separate scene which was depicted next to the scene of the funeral procession, and another next to the scene of *Opening the Mouth*. In the Ramesside age the two offering scenes were combined together in one which took place before the final stage of interment.

A group of lamenting women Pl. 31 very similar to those of Ramose is seen here. They from one group, and though they mingle together, each woman expresses a different stage of grief. Some of them are accompannied by their children.

In front of the cows Pl. 30, a calf is depicted with his foreleg cut off. And right above it the priest is shown holding this foreleg as an integral part of the rite of *Opening The Mouth. Pls.* 30, 33.

Many features which were popular in the Eighteenth Dynasty tombs are missing, such as :—

1. The *muu*-dancers.

2. The shrines representing Buto, Sais, and Heliopolis.

3. The shrines of Osiris and Anubis.

4. The fourteen shrines to whom prayers were given.

5. The infernal, a certain type of infernal gates and gods which were depicted in the tombs of the Eighteenth Dynasty such as the tomb of Rekhmi-re.

6. The *Tekenu.*

7. The funernal furniture.

8. The journey to Abydos.

The crossing of the river is rarely represented as is seen here. The elaborate rites of *Opening the Month* have shrunk to a mere symbolic representation at the entrance of the tomb.

The funeral which is represented in the lower register is followd in the upper register by the Judgement scene. Pls. 28, 29, 30, 32, 34.

The scene shows the deceased and his wife led by Anubis into the Hall of judgement where the balance is set. On the declaration of the result by Thot, if they fail, they will be devoured by the hungry beast ʿa ʿamet, if they are acquitted, Horus will lead them into the presence of Osiris who is enthroned within his shrine. There is nothing particular about this scene, which is traditional.

Wall H. Pls. 39, 40, 46:—

The wall is divided into three registers; In the upper register Kyky is shown adoring Mut with a lengthty text which runs across the next adjoining wall and ends before Mut on the opposite Wall M. Mut Pls. 47,61 represented sitting within her shrine, her titles are written beside her head. In this text Kyky mentioned that he had given all his possessions in all thier froms to Mut. Pls. 39, 40, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51.

Unfortunately a large part of the wall is utterly destroyed.

In the second register, Kyky is again adoring Mut with a text almost as lengthy as the former, and Mut Pl. 47 here is represented as above and having the same titles. The text is interesting as it states clearly the name of Ramses II in whose reign the tomb was constructed, Pl. 39, 52; unfrortunately the first signs which gave the year are destroyed. Moreover, the greater part of the text is completely destroyed. Pls. 39,40,46,47,52,53,54.

In the lowest register, Pl. 39 the scenes are very badly destroyed. Kyky sitting on a chair and his wife sitting on a stool beside him, the feet of both of them resting on mats, are receiving offerings which are given by a priest. The few lines of text cannot be read.

To the right of this, Kyky is shown standing and listenting to one of his officials who is reporting about the products of the fields Pl. 40 We can detect with difficulty a bull ploughing, some shrubs and trees spread here and there, but the rest of the scene is hardly visible.

Such agricultural scenes were less popular in the Nineteenth Dynasty and were only represented in few tombs of that period. They show some varying aspects from those of the Eighteenth Dynasty. As is shown here the scene is much more animated (Pls. 42,43,44.).

Wall K. :—

In the lowest register, the scenes are in a very bad condition and hardly visible. They represent a series of ritual offerings which continue on the next adjoining wall M.

From left, a priest dressed in Ninteenth Dynasty attire is offering to a couple who might be Kyky and his wife Pl. 46.

On the right a priest, followed by four ladies whose identities are not known owing to the destruction of the text, is offering to a seated couple, probably Kyky and his wife.

Unfortunately owing to the destruction of all the texts and scenes of offerings, we cannot recognize the members of Kyky's family.

Wall M. Pls. 47, 55, 56 :—

In the lowest register the same series of these ritual offerings continue. To the left a priest burning incense and giving the traditional loaves and beer to Kyky and his wife Pl. 47. Next, a priest wearing the lepoard's skin burning incense and giving an offering consisting of round loaves, vegetables and meat put on green leaves, to Kyky and his wife. At the side of the offering table, a conical-shaped lamp is set to provide light. The priest Pls. 50, 51 again, this time without the leopard's skin, is offering a bouquet, symbol of freshness and resurrection. The priest is holding in his left hand an incensor, and in his right hand a jar. Unfortunately the texts Pls. 58,59 in these last three scenes have faded away.

In these scenes Kyky is depicted rasing his right hand, while in his left he holds a *sehkem* emblem. The lady raising both hands. On the top of her head a cone-shaped object is put. This cone was made of fat, oils, perfuming herbs, and probably marrow which is still in use to-day among the tribes living in Central Africa. This cone might have served various purposes, a-to soften heat particulary in summer which is extremely hot in Upper Egypt, b-to moisten the skin, c-to give a sweet refreshing smell,d-to keep away flies and insects (It is worth while to indicate that the Ancient Egyptians never represent the world of insects in their company),e-to stimulate the body as a whole and sex in particular.

This cone is placed on the head which contains the vital centres, and as the cone-mixture liquefies, it flows down the body and nourishes the skin and creates round the person an atmosphere of refreshing sweetness and erotic smell.

Wall M. :—

Upper register : This is an interesting scene in which Kyky is shown giving offerings to god Amun-Re who is hidden within his shrine Pls. 55, 56, 62. It is adorned with the Egyptain cornice, two winged suns, one above the other. Thes two representations of the sun may indicate that the shrine of the god is composed of two shrines, one is placed within the other. The main space is decorated with the portrait of Ramses II wearing the crown of Upper Egypt, once giving the statue of maʿat to god Amun-Re, then again offering two jars of ointment to Amun-Re. The second scene is partly destroyed, but the name of the king can still be read. The shrine is adroned in front with a ram-head, symbol of Amun wearing the uraeus and the sun-disk. Below this are the *rḫyt*-birds adoring the god. The shrine is placed on a slightly high pedestal.

Before the shrine three tables are set covered with various offerings ; between the legs of the tables are composite bouquets of flowers.

Then comes Kyky Pl. 63 bringing two jars. Kyky raises his right hand in adoration while he drives four oxen for sacrifice and holds three stems of flowers.

The text above does not indicate that these offerings were given on any particuler occassion, but only to beseech Amun-Re to grant him a venereble old age in his following and a goodly burrial within thee for the *Ka* of the royal scribe, chief accountant of cattle of all the gods of *Wast.*

Then follows the second scene in which Kyky is shown knealing down to adore Ptah-Sokris. Pls .47, 57.

The Ceiliug. Pls 64–75 :—

The ceiling of the first chamber is decorated with lines of inscriptions which run along the axis between every two opposite walls, and form rectangular spaces which are adorned with floral designs of various patterns (Pls. 64-72). They are in very good state of preservation and should be counted among the best in the Theban Necropolis. As photographs of all these designs are given, it is superfluous to give a detailed description of them.

The inscriptions are the normal *htp-di-nsw* prayers addressed to the important gods of the necropolis Pl. 73, 74, 75, 92.

The Entrance To the Second Chamber :—

The lintel and the upper parts of the two jambs are destroyed. What is left shows that they were inscribed as usual with the *htp-di-nsw* formulae Pl.77. At the bottom of each inscription Kyky is portrayed sitting on his chair (Pl. 76) welcoming the visitors to his tomb.

This representation is typical of Egyptain life, for even now it is still the custom in villages and towns that people sit out at the doors of their houses to chatter with their friends.

Left Reveal :—

In the upper register Kyky Pls. 78, 79 is shown coming into the tomb and offering a composite bouquet to Osiris who welcomes Kyky into the tomb and grants him a goodly burial in the west after venerable old age.

In the lower register Pls. 80, 83 Kyky is represented again offering to Osiris (This time the god is not represented) so that the latter would grant him going out and coming into the tomb. These are the normal wishes of every Egyptian.

Right Reveal :—

Kyky is offering a composite bouquet to Osiris to grant him the same wishes of going out and returning back into the tomb Pls. 81, 82.

This idea of going out of the tomb and returning back into it suggests no doubt that the ancient Egyptian believed that the soul of the dead must live in the tomb for some time, or at least would come to visit the body on certain days of the year. This is attested by letters addressed to the dead.

Though at the same time the ancient Egyptian no doubt hoped, as is expressed in the *Book Of The Dead*, to be admitted to the feilds of *Iaru* which is the paradise of the ancient Egyptian, he believed as well that his soul would take various forms and would join the sungod.

Thus it would seem that there were various schools of thought dealing with life after death, and though some of these schools were contradictory, the ancient Egyptians thought it would be wiser, as they were in no position to solve this dilemma, to recognize them all, hoping for the best.

Second Chamber :—

On the left wall R. (Pl. 84, 85), in the upper register, is represented one of the rare scenes of the Theban Necropolis which came into existance for the first time in Thebes

in the reign of Amenophis III in the tomb of Kheruef, then later in few tombs of the Nineteenth Dynasty. This is the erection of the *Ḏd-pillar*.

The scene is still unfinished and only sketched in ink. We can discern with difficulty a man and a woman who with are probably Kyky and his wife pulling the *Ḏd-pillar* robes to set it up. But the text was not written.

In the lower register, the goddess of the sycamore tree is depicted in ink. This scene, though it had its appearance on the walls of the the tombs of Thebes as early as Amenophis II's reign in the tombs of Sennufer and Nakht, had not gained any popularity except in the Nineteenth Dynasty when it is to be found almost in every tomb of that period.

The sycamore tree is shown here planted on the side of a lake, and the goddess coming forth from its middle to pour water from a jar which she holds with both her hands to the thirsty Kyky and his wife, each with his (or her) *ba* in front of him, (or her) receiving the water with both hands. The text was not written.

Walls. Pls. 86, 87 :—

The scene is sketched in ink. It is unique in the Theban Necropolis. It shows the mummy carried by four people, of whom two are priests, one wearing a falcon mask and the other wearing a Thot-mask. In front of them a priest, wearing an Anubis-mask and holding a lamp in one hand, leads the mummy into the burial chamber, the entrance to which is situated next to the scene. At the feet of the mummy stand six ladies who are most probably the wife of the deceased, his daughters or close relatives.

Wall T. Pls. 88, 89 :—

The scenes on this wall are unfinished. The wall is divided into two registers.

Upper register :- God Re-Hor-Akhty enthroned within his shrine and followed by the goddess Isis.

Opposite him is presumably Kyky, who is followed by three ladies, probably his wife and daughters. They are offering to the god. No inscription. The rest of the wall is destroyed by salt, but behind the shrine of Re-Hor-Akhty, traces of a man and a woman can still be seen. In the opposite direction a man is sitting right at the end of the row.

Lower register :- A similar shrine is seen but the figure within it is completely destroyed. Facing the shrine is a hawk-headed god wearing the double-crown, followed by a person wearing two feathers on his head, then three ladies. No inscription.

The rest of the scene is destroyed ; but right at the end of the wall, the lower half of two seats can still be traced.

The Statues. Pls. 90, 91 :—

The back wall of the second chamber contains a niche with four statues, the upper parts of which are missing. On each side-panal, a *Ḏd* - pillar dressed in Ramesside attire is depicted. Such decorations were found in other tombs of the period e-g . 296, 178.

The Statues according to the inscriptions written on them, belong to, from right to left.

1. a lady called *šmꜥyt-n-Imn twtwiꜣ*, Totoya.
2. a man called *sš ḥsb iꜣw n nṯrw nbw Wꜣst mry rꜥ* (?).
3. Kyky, the tomb-owner.
4. *Rꜥiꜣy*, Rayay, his wife.

We do not know the relation between Kyky and his wife and these two other persons.

Burial Chamber :—

From the left wall S. of the inner chamber a staircase was hewn leading down to the burial chamber which was full of debris. Nothing was found inside it except few fragments of an anthropoid cartonage which bears no inscription.

THE GODS

The gods whom Kyky had considered the most important to win their favour in order to be admitted to a happy After-life are Amun-Re, King of the gods, Mut, mistress of all the gods, Osiris, lord of eternity and Ptah-Sokaris. Anubis and Hathor were adorned in the frieze, Re-Hor-Akhty on the reveals of doors and other parts of the tomb.

THE TITLES OF KYKY

1. Scribe.
2. Chief accountant of all the gods of *Wast*. (Thebes).
3. Chief accountant of the cattle of Amun.
4. Chief accountant of the cattle of Khonso.
5. Chief accountant of the cattle of Monto.
6. Chief accountant of the cattle of Maat.
7. Chief accountant of the cattle of all the gods of upper and lower Egypt. (lit. The south and north.)
8. Chief accountant of the cattle of the temple of Osiris and the temple of Khonso and the temple of Mut.
9. Chief accountant of cattle.

His wife Rayay

1.—*nbt pr*

2.—*šmʿyt n Ỉmn*

3.—*šmʿyt n Mut*

4.—*snt.f nbt pr*

His Wife Ta-Semenet (*T ꜣ smnt*).

1.—*šmʿyt n Ỉmn*

2.—*nbt pr*

THE TOMB OF BAK-EN-AMUN

The tomb of Bak-en-Amun is situated in the same common court of the tomb of Kyky, just right to the west of it.

The court :—

In front of the tomb a small private court is made ; its walls are constructed of mud-bricks.

The tomb :—

The tomb consists of four chambers which do not follow any normal pattern. Each room is cut within the other, but it is not on its same axis as was the usual custom ; on the contrary, each is perpendicular to the other. From the fourth room a door opens into a lower chamber from which a short slope leads to the burial chamber. The whole tomb was as usual full of debris.

Though the tomb consists of various chambers, it is very small in size ; and the ceiling is low. Its owner had wasted all his life-time hewing it ; then he suddenly died before completing its decoration. The surface of the walls is still rough and had not been prepared for painting. Only three scenes were executed ; one on the lintel and two jambs of the entrance-door, the second on the entrance to the second chamber, and the third is sketched in ink on one of the walls of the second chamber.

The Façade :—

No stelae were constructed in the façade as was the custom in the Ramesside age. The lintel of the entrance door is decorated with two scenes. Pl. 94.

On the left Bak-en-Amun and his wife adoring Osiris who is shown seated and protected by a goddess wearing the Hathor emblem. On the right side, three sons of the deceased, (Amun-em-Hab, Amun khʿw, Iwf-en-Amun, and another called Hʿpy who is not shown in the picture), are giving an offering to Osiris who is Shown seated and protected by a goddess wearing the emblem of Maʿat.

On the two jambs Pl. 95 are the usual *htp-di-nsw* prayers addressed to Anubis, to Ptah-Sokaris, to Osiris, lord of eternity, ruler of the Ennead, and to Isis *wrt*.

The Entrance to the Second Chamber

The Lintel Pls. 96, 97:—

On the right side Bak-en-Amun and his son Amun-em-Hab, adoring Osiris who is shown standing and holding the *was*-sceptre. On the left side Bak-en-Amun again, but this time he is with his wife, adoring Osiris. Between the two figures of Osiris, the symbol of the west is represented and is called *Imnt wrt ḫnt nṯrw*. The colours on the lintel are well-preserved in most parts and show a high standard of quality.

The two jambs :—

There is only one line of inscription on each jamb ; the upper part in both cases is completely destroyed.

The second Chamber :—

On the left wall of the second chamber, wall C. a curious representation of a king is shown Pl. 98. The figure of the king is sketched in ink, and is of a very poor quality, and though a cartouche containing the name of a king is written and in it the signs of *Rʿms* could be discerned, it is very much doubtful that this picture is contemporaneous with the outer inscriptions which are, compared with these, finely executed. A bird is shown hovering over the head of the king, and a horse, in miniature, tottering behind. All are very coarsely done.

No other inscription or picture is shown to shed light on this strange scence which might be some later intrusion, or the work of one of the labourers.

FINDS

Four fragments of a small limestone statue of Bak-en-Amun and his wife were found (Pls. 99, 100). These were not found in the tomb of Bak-en-Amun himself ; but apparently the ancient thieves who had broken into the tomb had penetrated first into the neighbouring tomb of Kyky and from thence into the tomb of Bak-en-Amun after destroying the wall which separates the two tombs. For some unknown reason, they left the broken pieces of the statue into the hall of the tomb of Kyky, not far from the breach.

Although the colouring had faded away, the two heads of Bak-en-Amun and his wife Pls. 101,102 are of good workmanship ; the body is also finely sculptured.

The back of the statue is inscribed with a prayer expressing the usual wishes of the deceased and giving the names of the members of his family.

The Shaft Outside The Tomb R. :—

On the left side of the entrance of this tomb, a deep shaft was hewn, but nothing was found inside it.

A Second Shaft :—

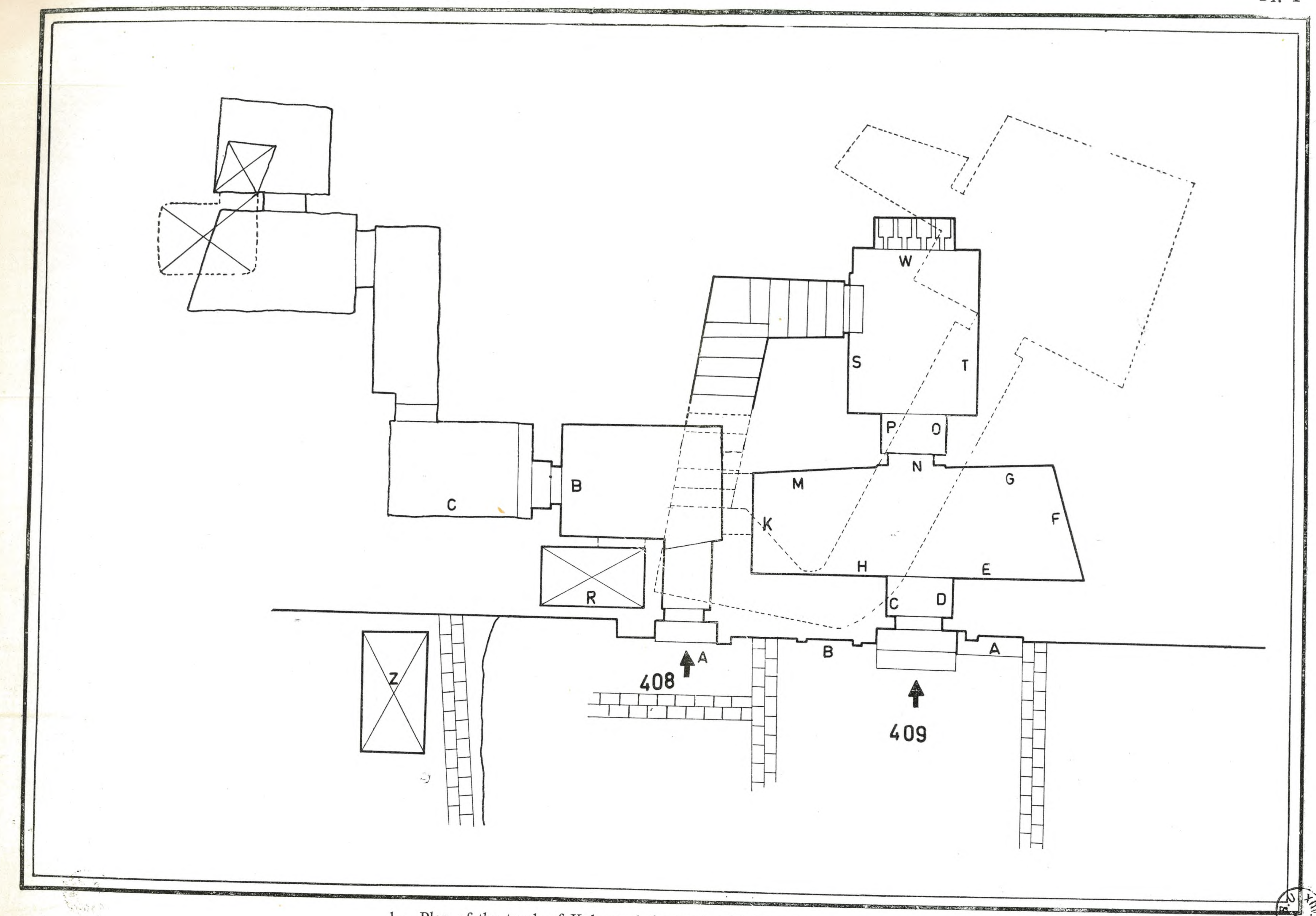
Few meters away to the west of the tomb of Bak-en-Amun stood a huge mound of debris, no less than ten meters in height. On removing it we found on a level not much higher than that of the present day road an anthropoid coffin pl.105 made of wood, and bearing in the middle of its lid, a line of inscription (Pl.106) running from head to foot. It gives the name of its owner.

This anthropoid coffin only contains the mummy which was wrapped in its original bandage of fine linen.

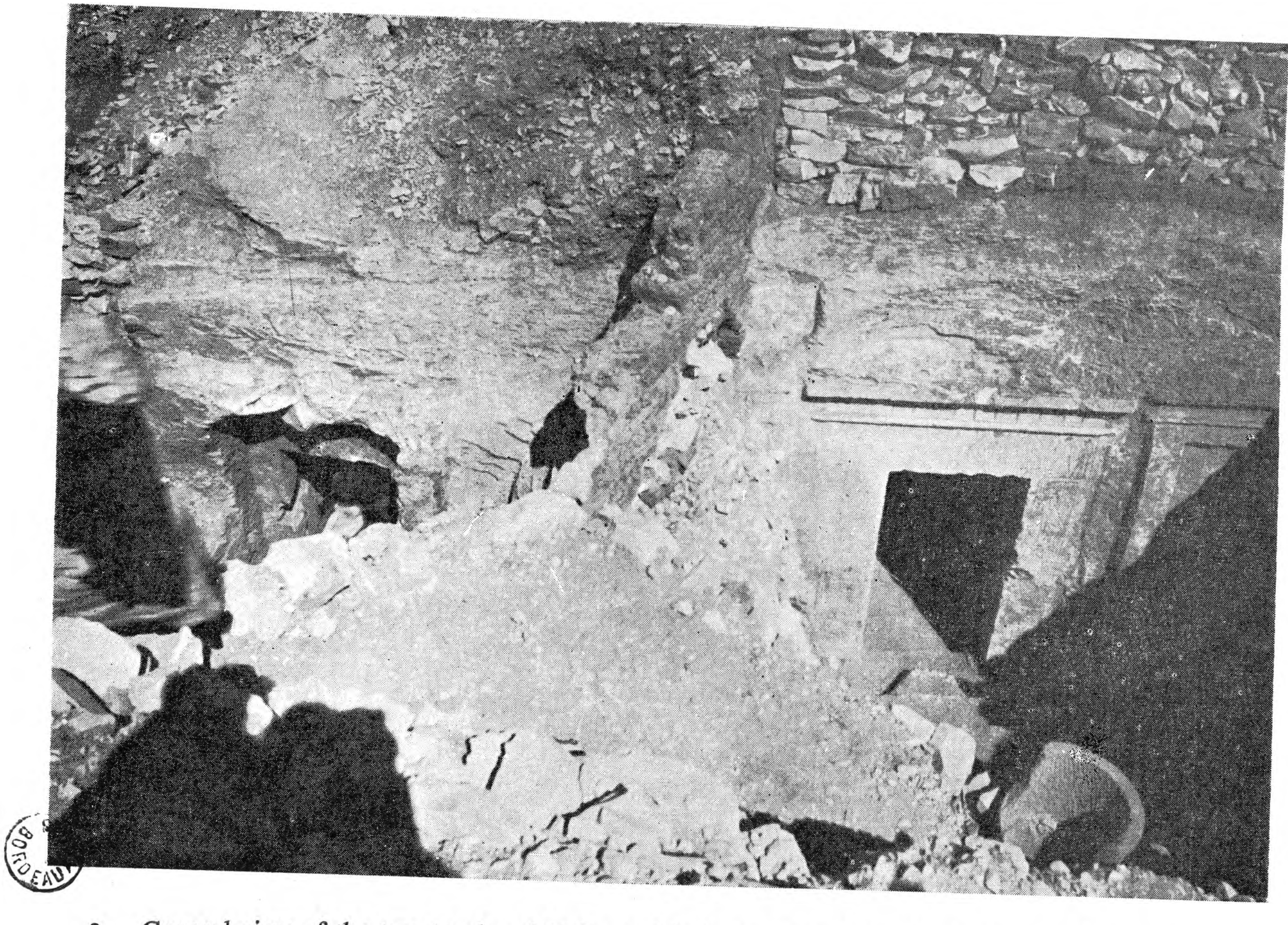
On removing the rest of the debris, we came upon the mouth of a shaft Z. (pls. 103, 104)which lies about five metres to the west of the entrance of the tomb of Bak-en-Amun. Round the brink of the shaft, mud-brick walls were erected. Its entrance was filld with big blocks of stone which looked to be well arranged and gave the impression that these were the original tomb-stones, but no sign of sealing was noticed. However, we hoped to find the shaft unrobbed. We continued the work and at depth of seven meters a chamber opened towards the north ; it was full of stone and obviously it was broken into On the opposite side another chamber was found with the same result.

We did not continue the excavations along the south-west side owing to the huge mass of debris which covers the area. Future excavation will certainly be friutful, though expensive.

Dr. Abdul Qader Muhammed

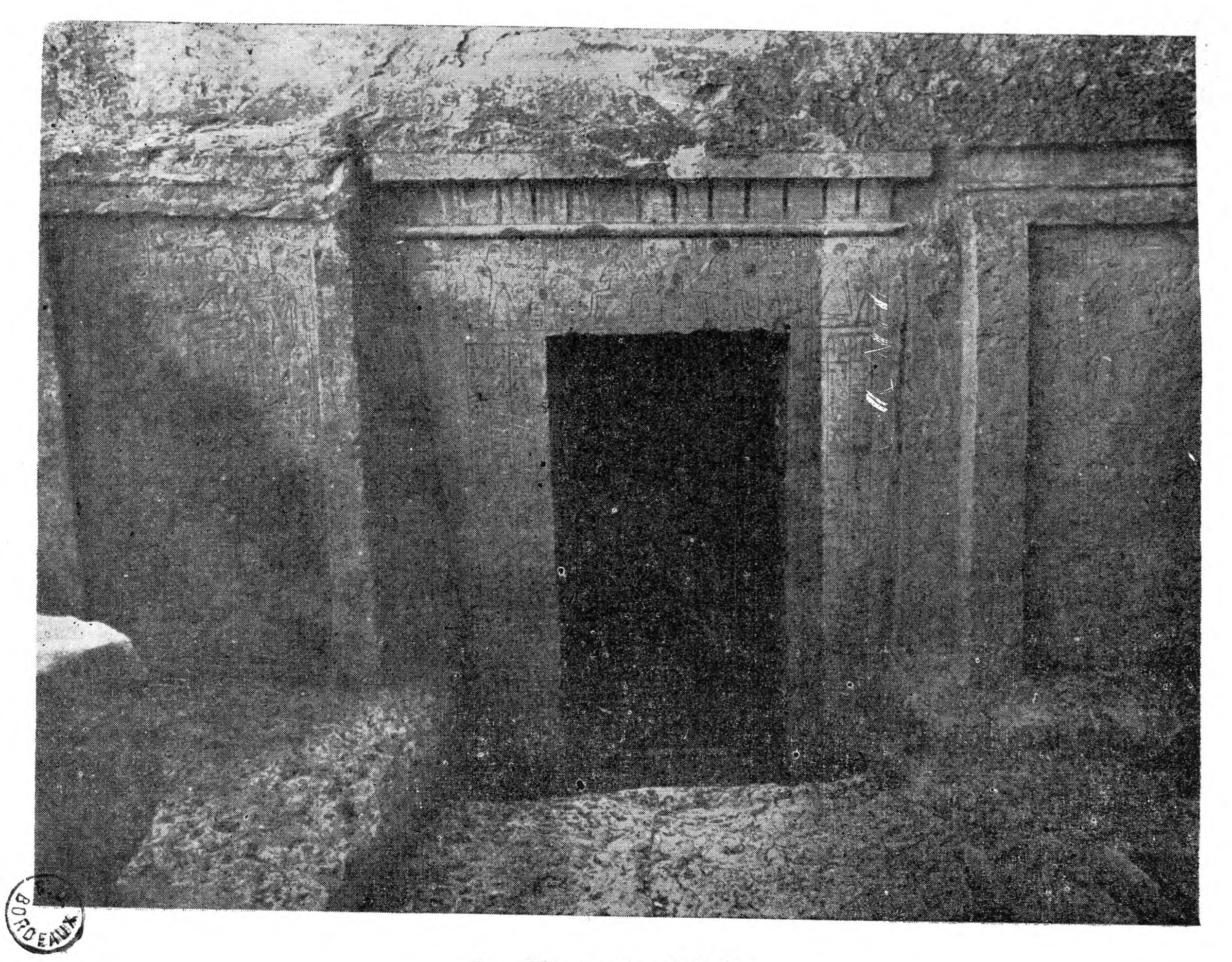


1.—Plan of the tomb of Kyky and the tomb of Baken Amun.



2.—General view of the two tombs of Kyky and Baken Amun at the beginning of the work.

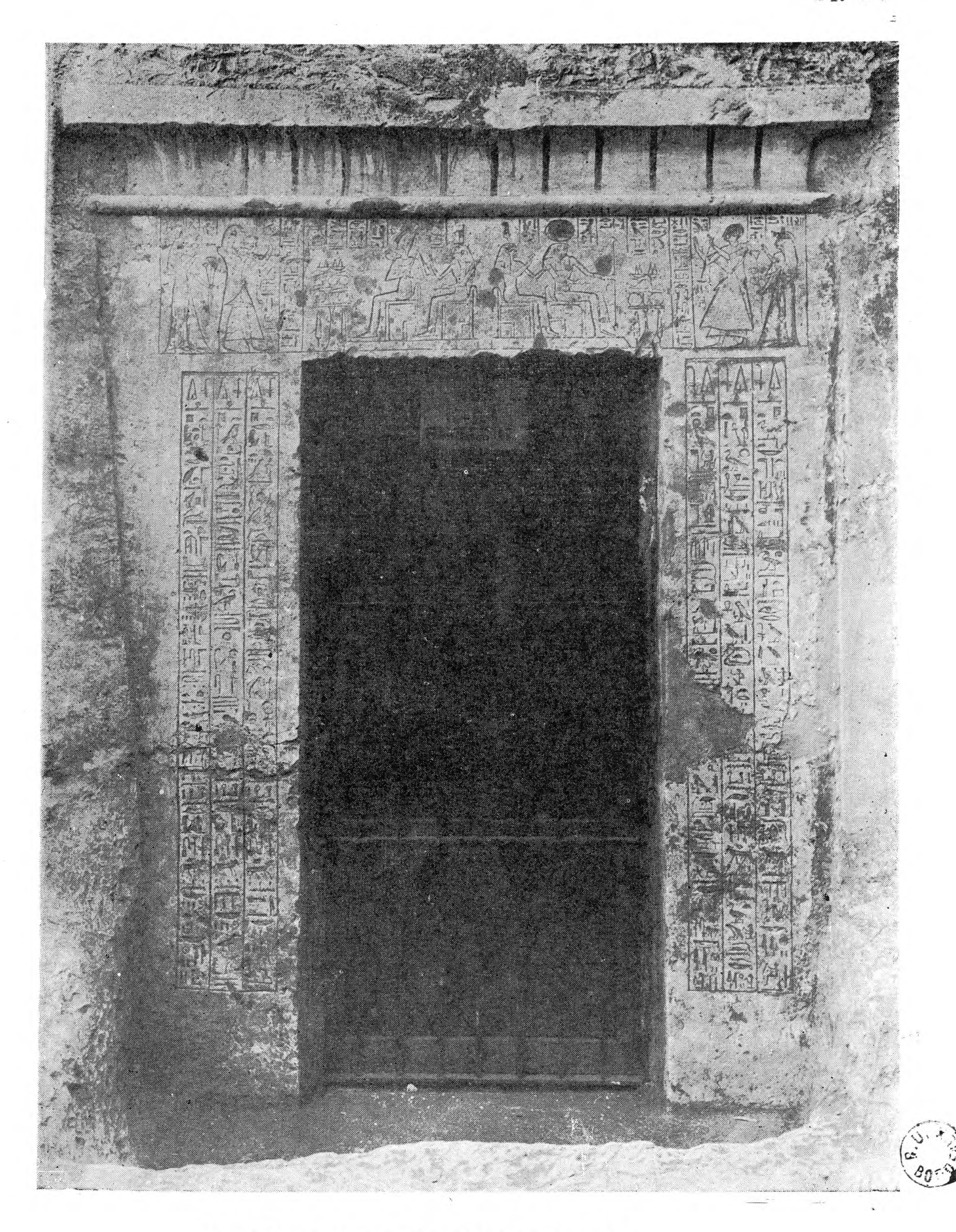
Pl. II



3.—The tomb of Kyky.

Pl. III

Pl. IV



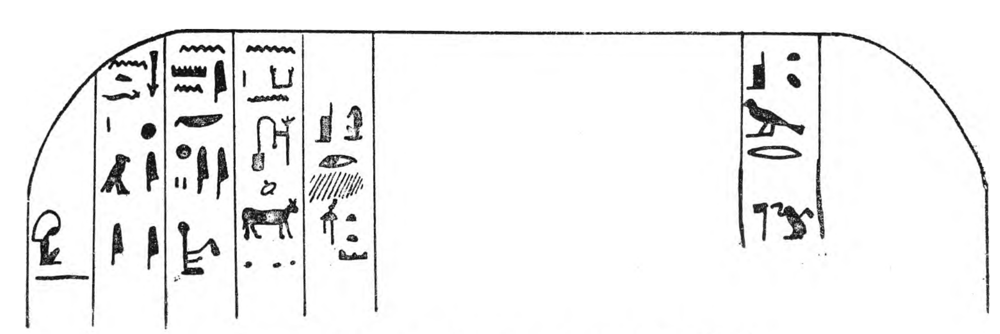
4.—The entrance of the tomb of Kyky.

Pl. V

5.—The text on the entrance of the tomb of Kyky.

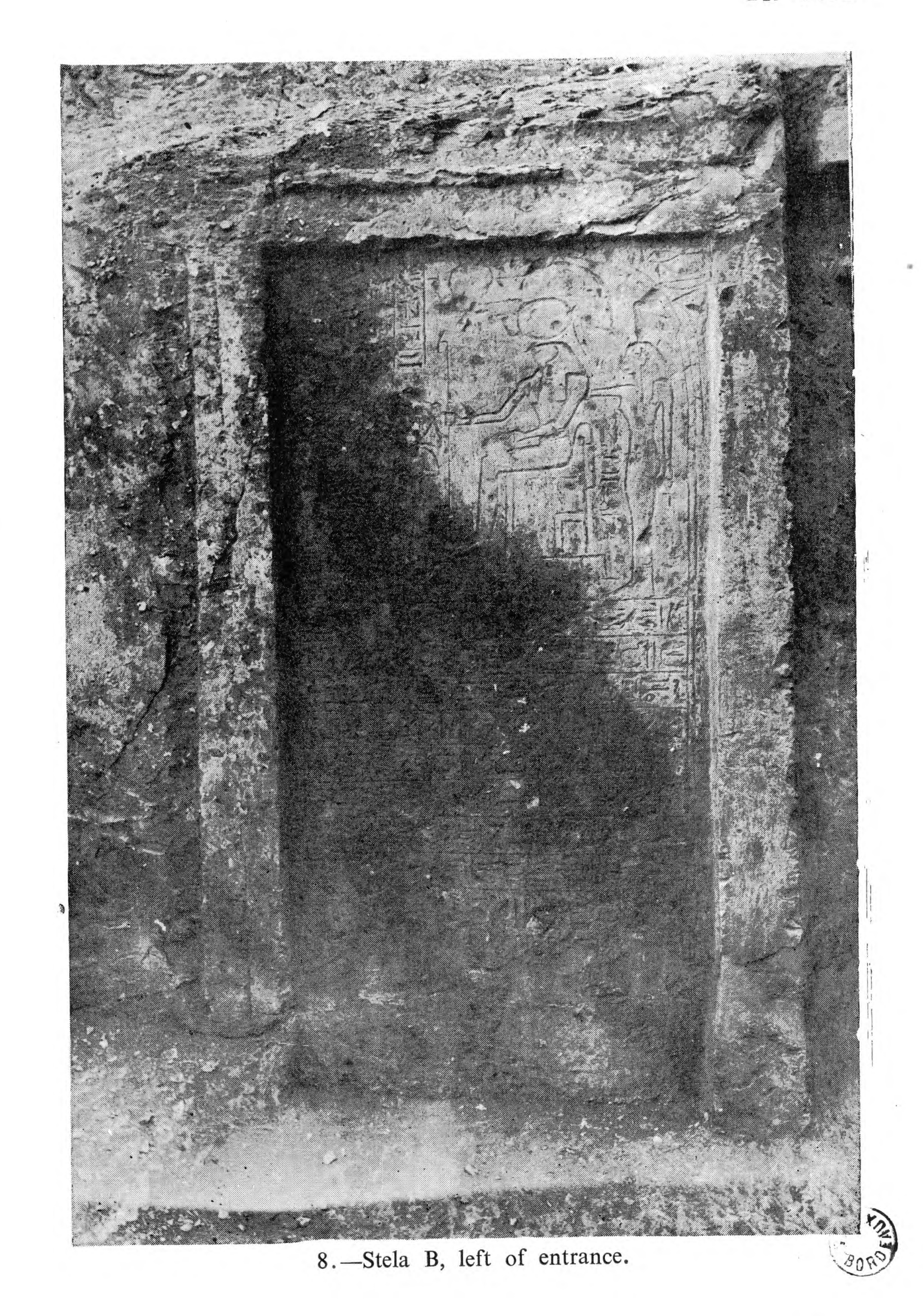


6.—Stela A, right of entrance.

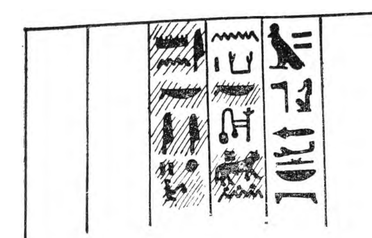


7 *a.*—Text on the upper part of stela A.

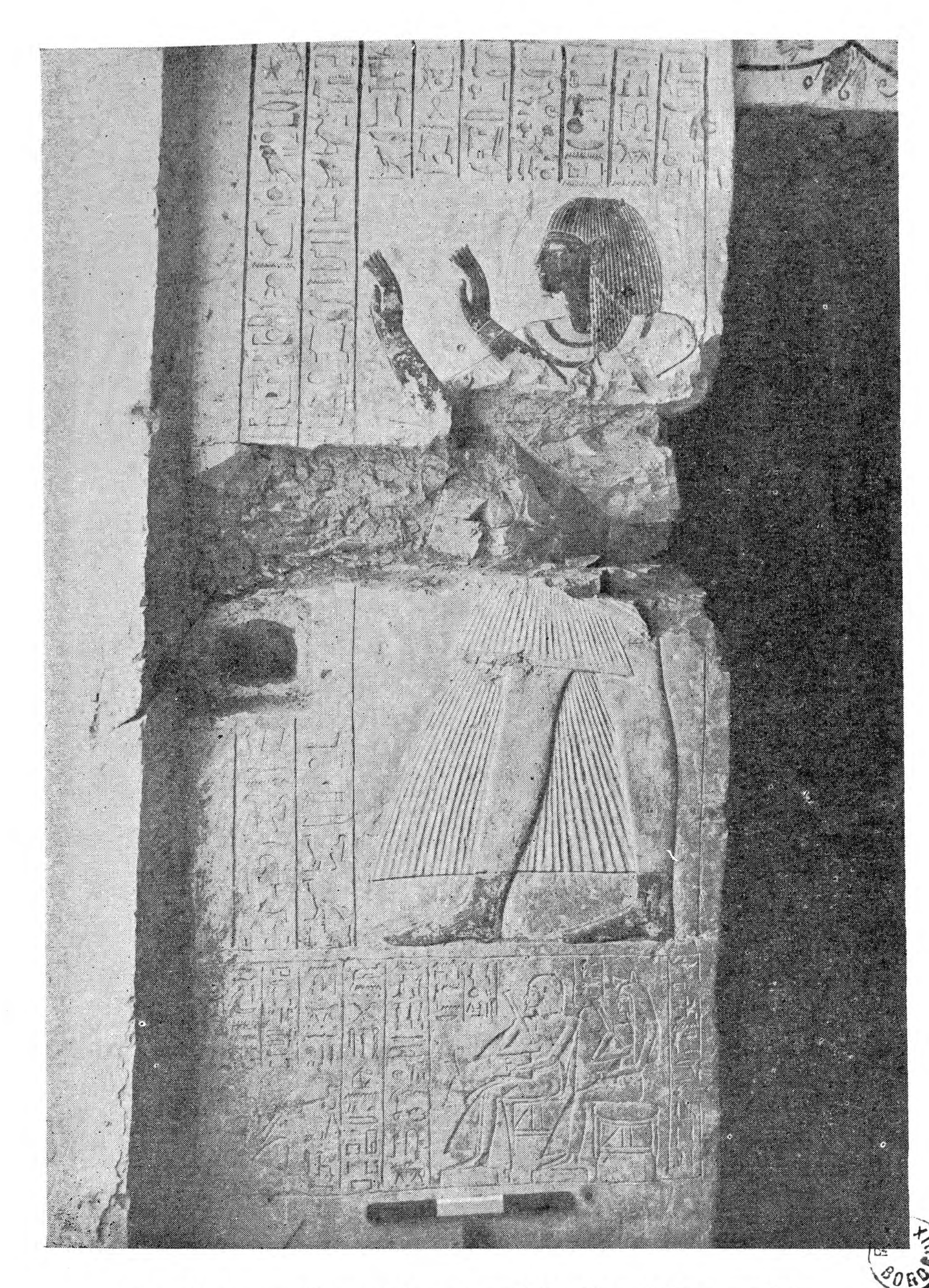
7 *b.*—Text on stela A.



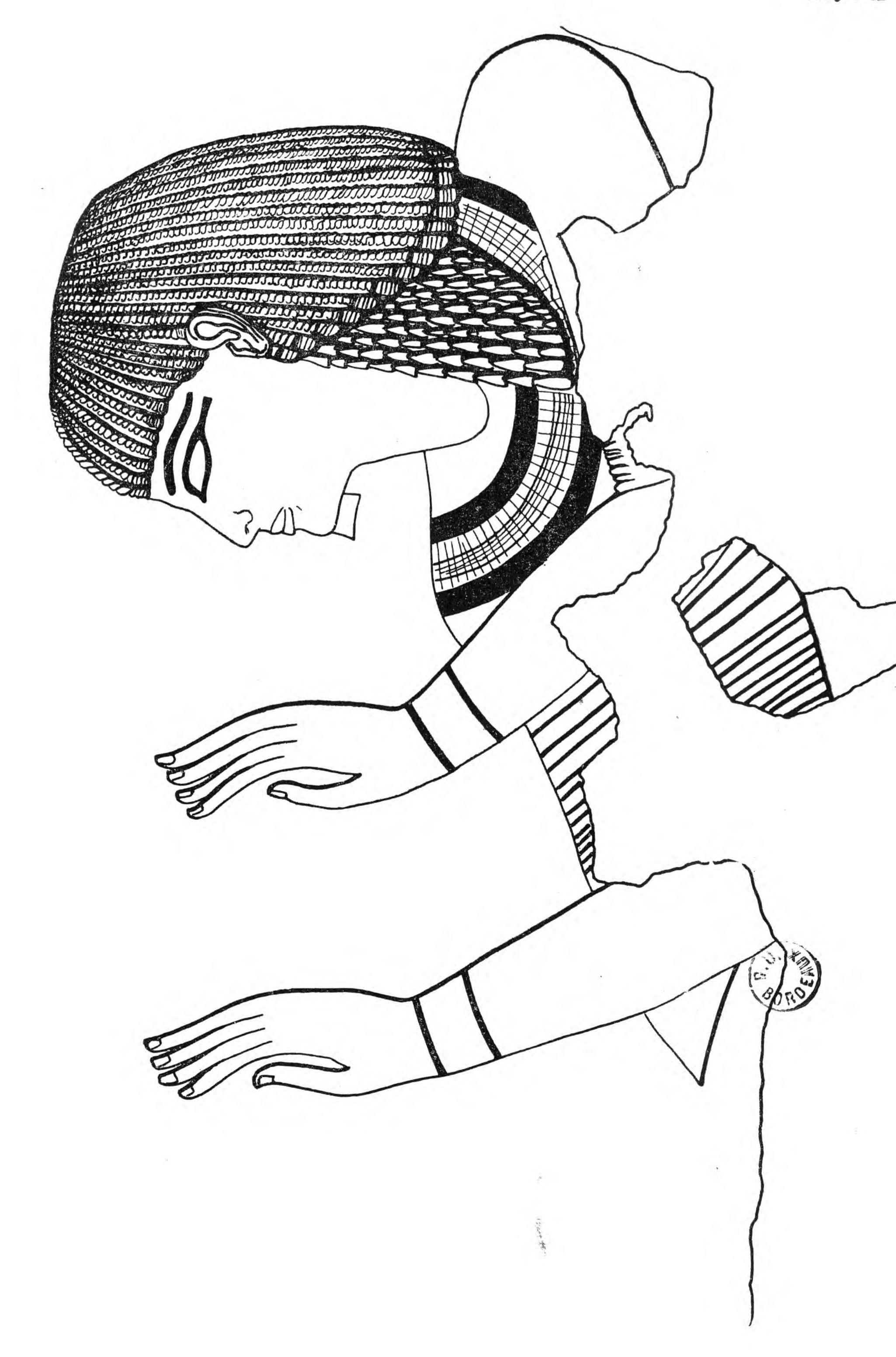
8.—Stela B, left of entrance.

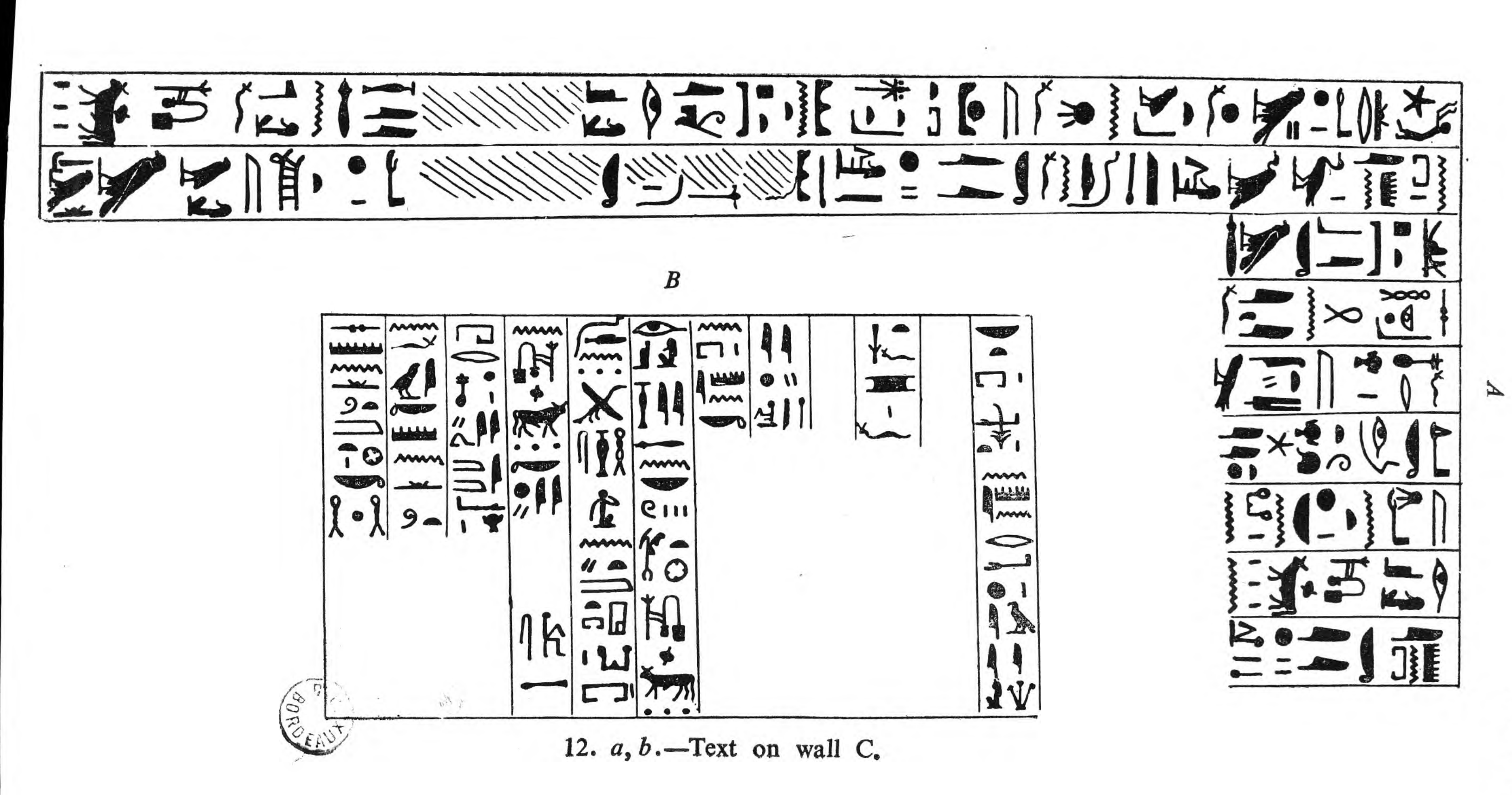


9.—Text on stela B.



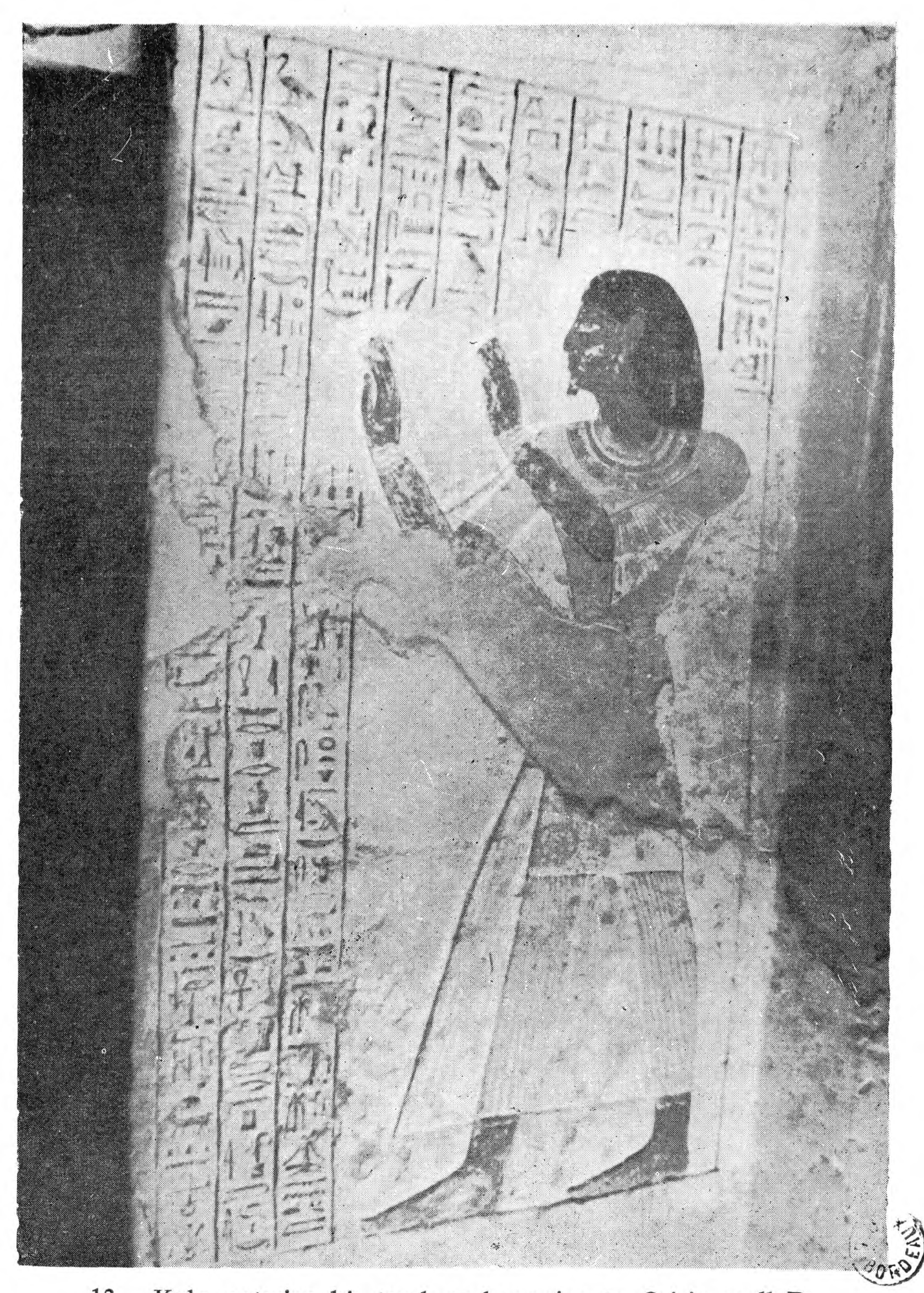
10.—Kyky praying to the sun-god Re Hor Akhty, wall C.



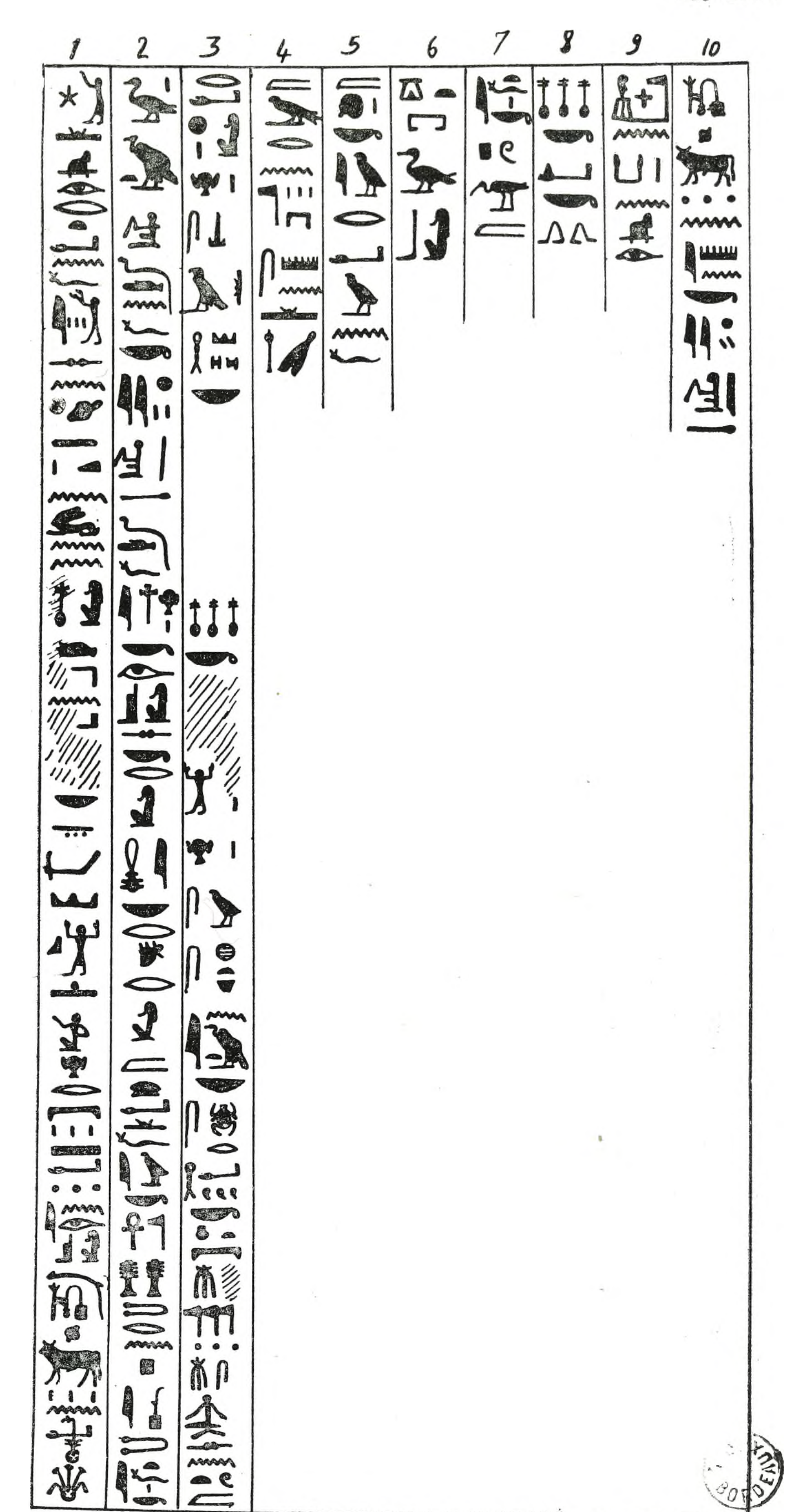


12. *a*, *b*.—Text on wall C.

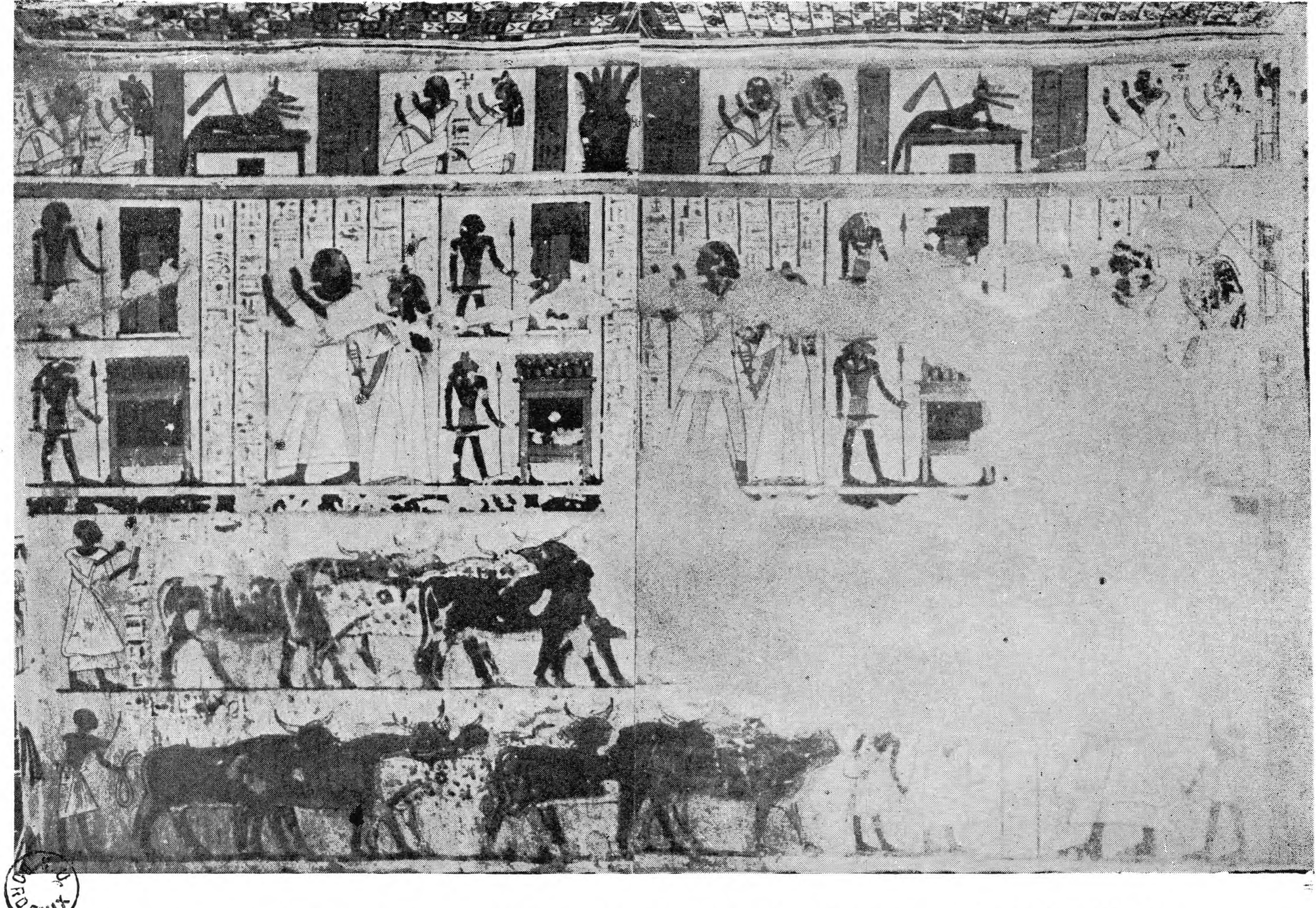
Pl. XII



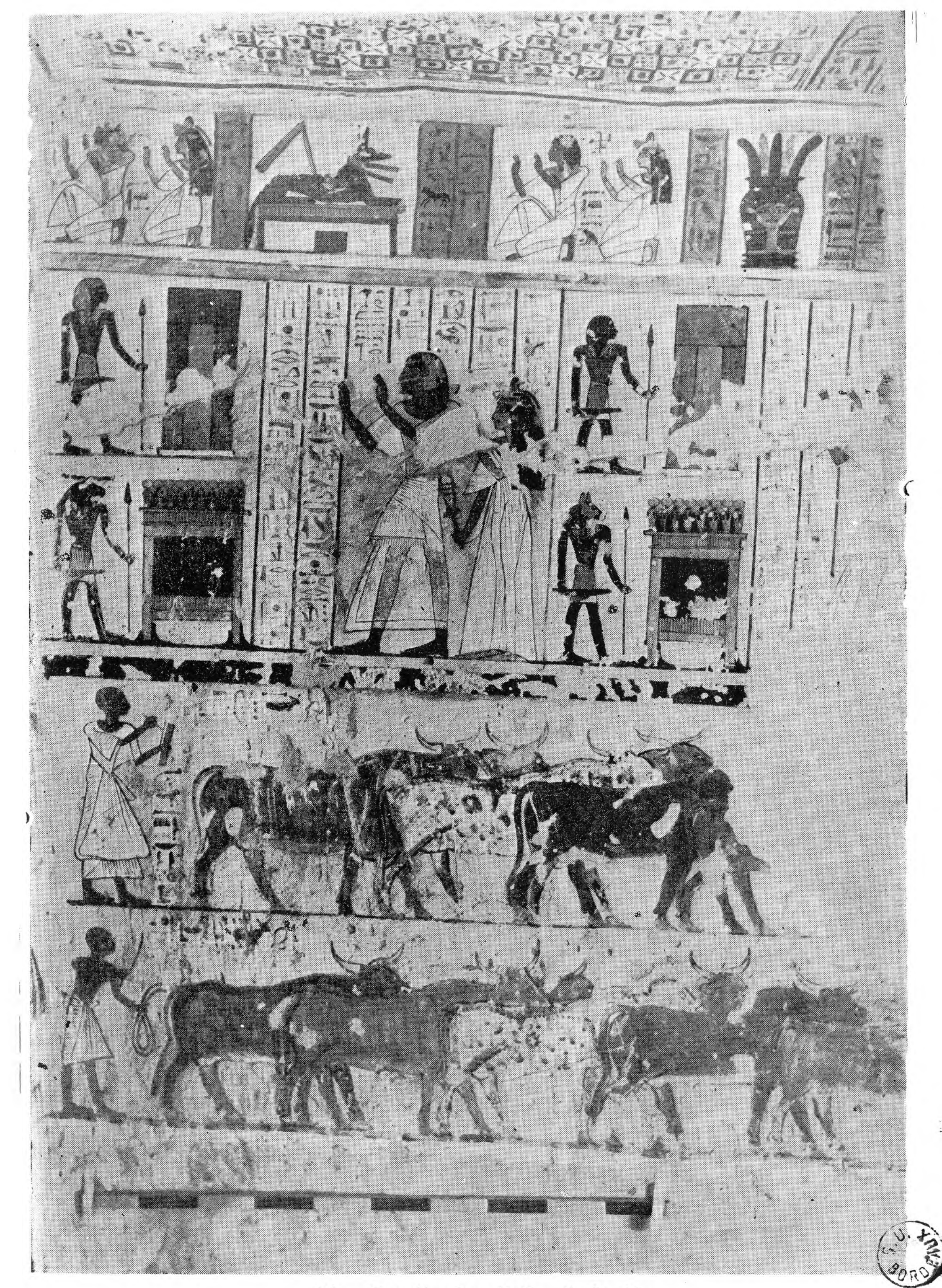
13.—Kyky entering his tomb and praying to Osiris, wall D.



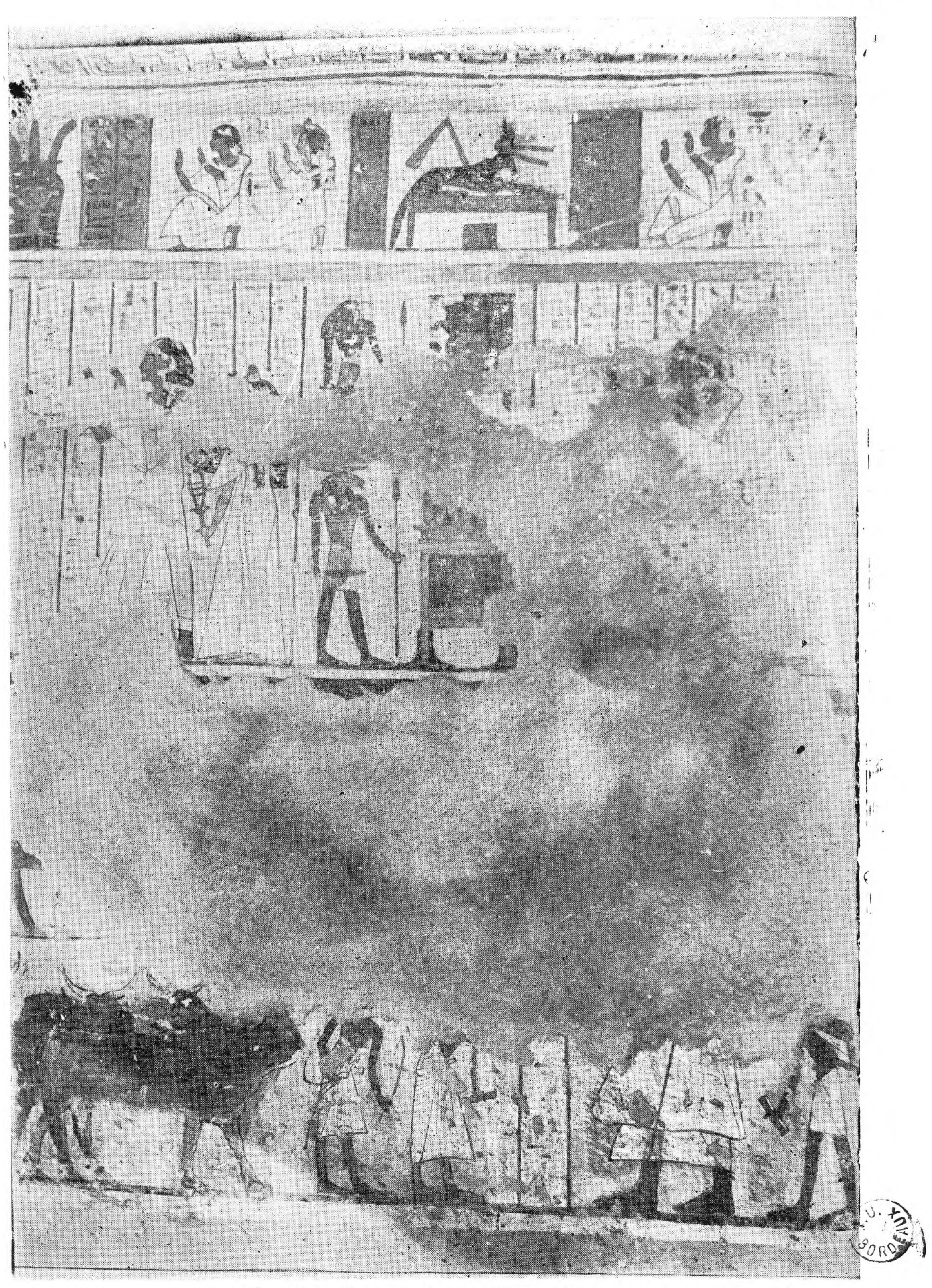
14.—Text on wall D.



15.—Wall E. Upper register, Kyky and his wife before the gates of the Nether World. Lower register, Kyky counting the cattle of the temples of the gods.



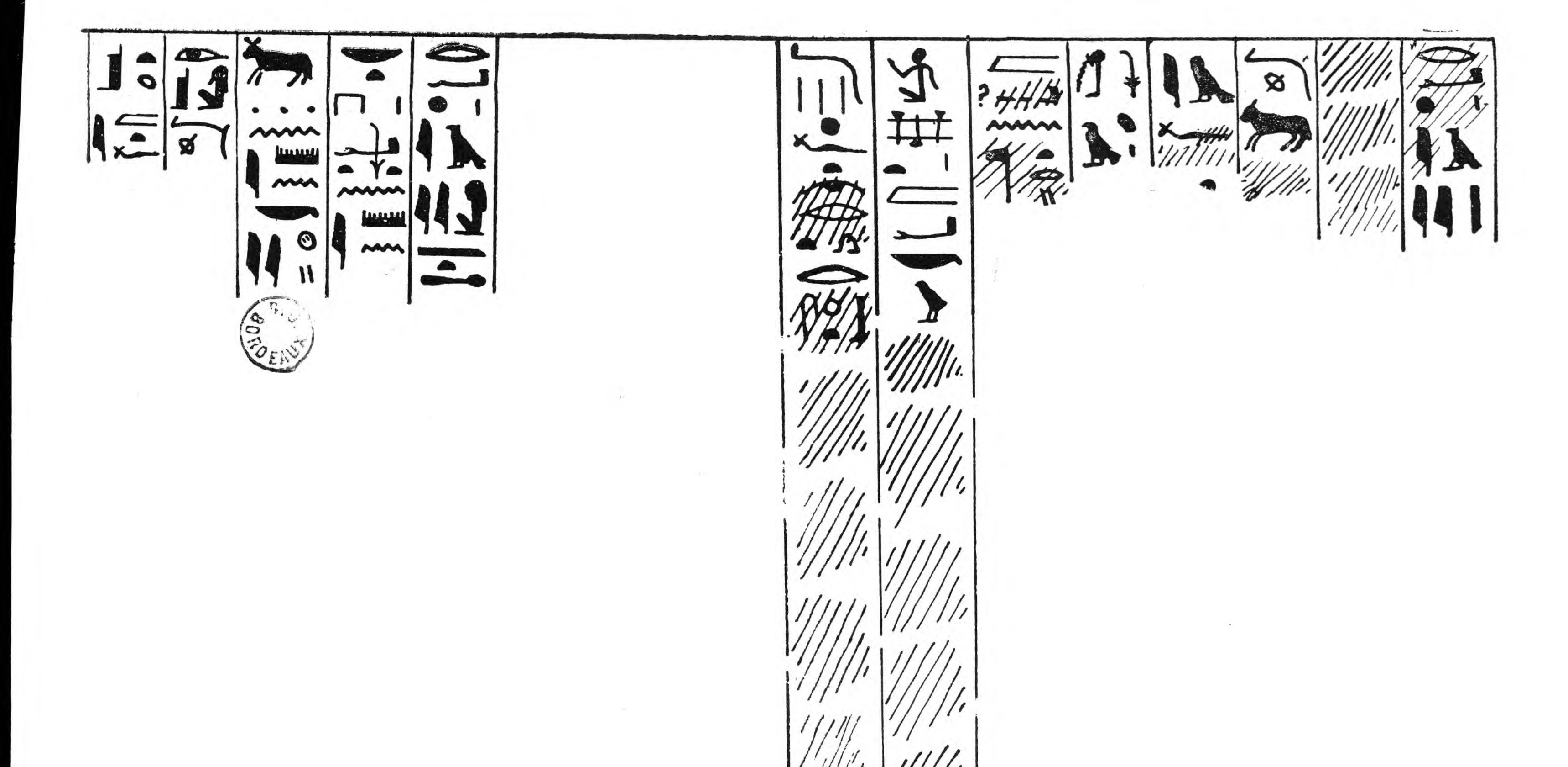
16.—Detail of wall E. Left side.



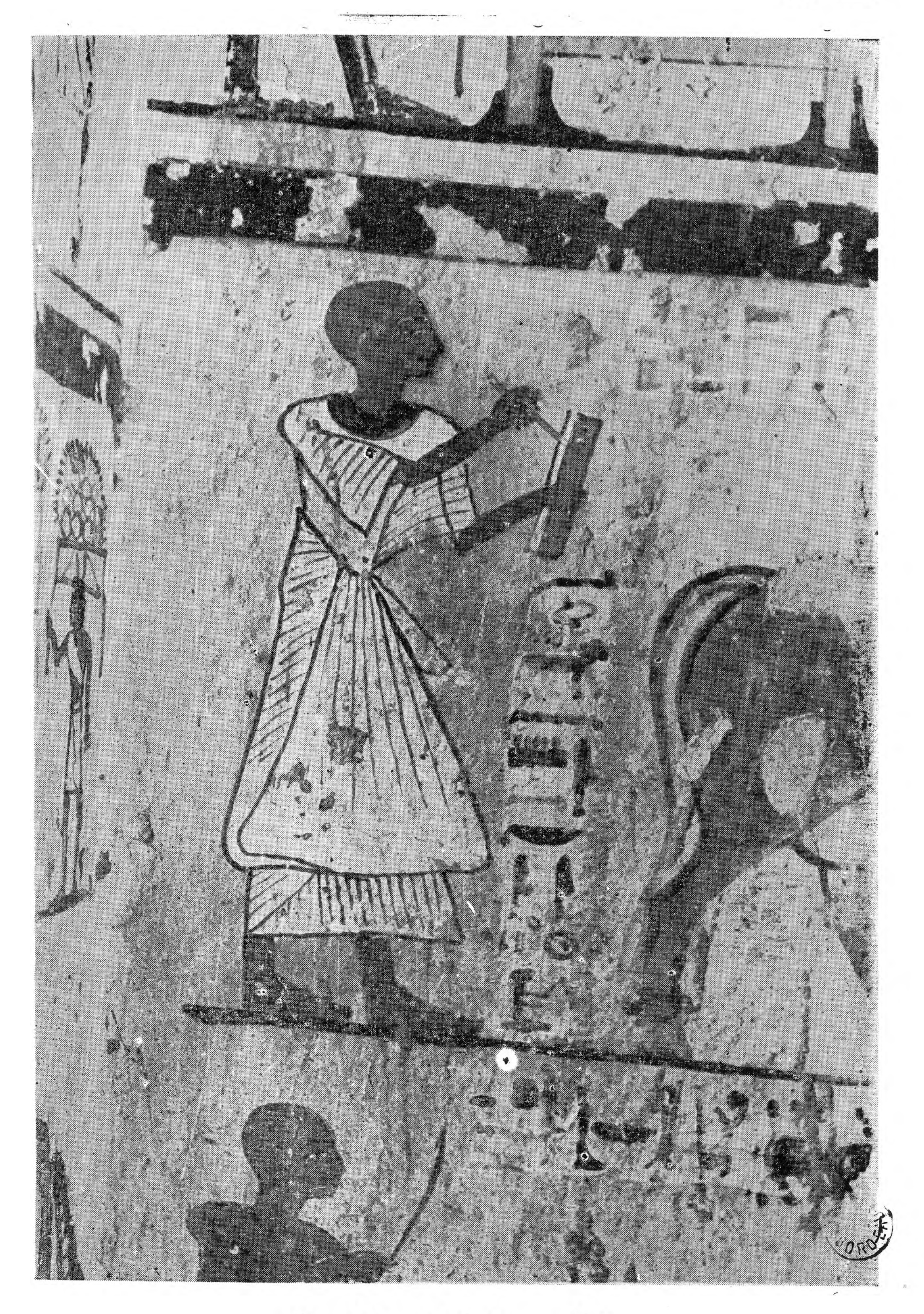
17.—Detail of wall E. Right side.



18.—Text and drawing of wall E.



19.—Text of wall E. cont.



20.—Kyky, detail from wall E.



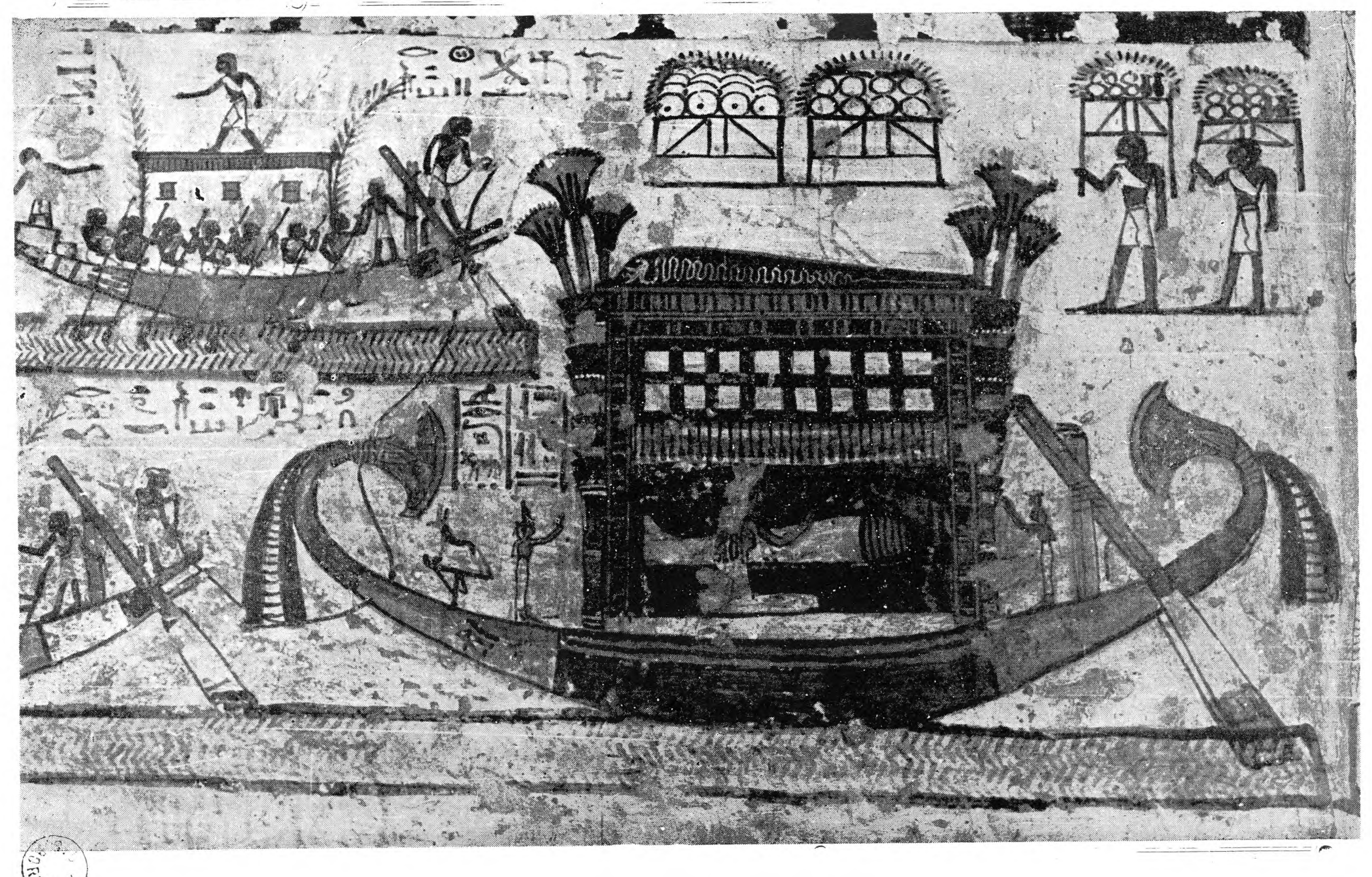
21.—Frieze-decoration, detail from wall E.

Pl. XXI

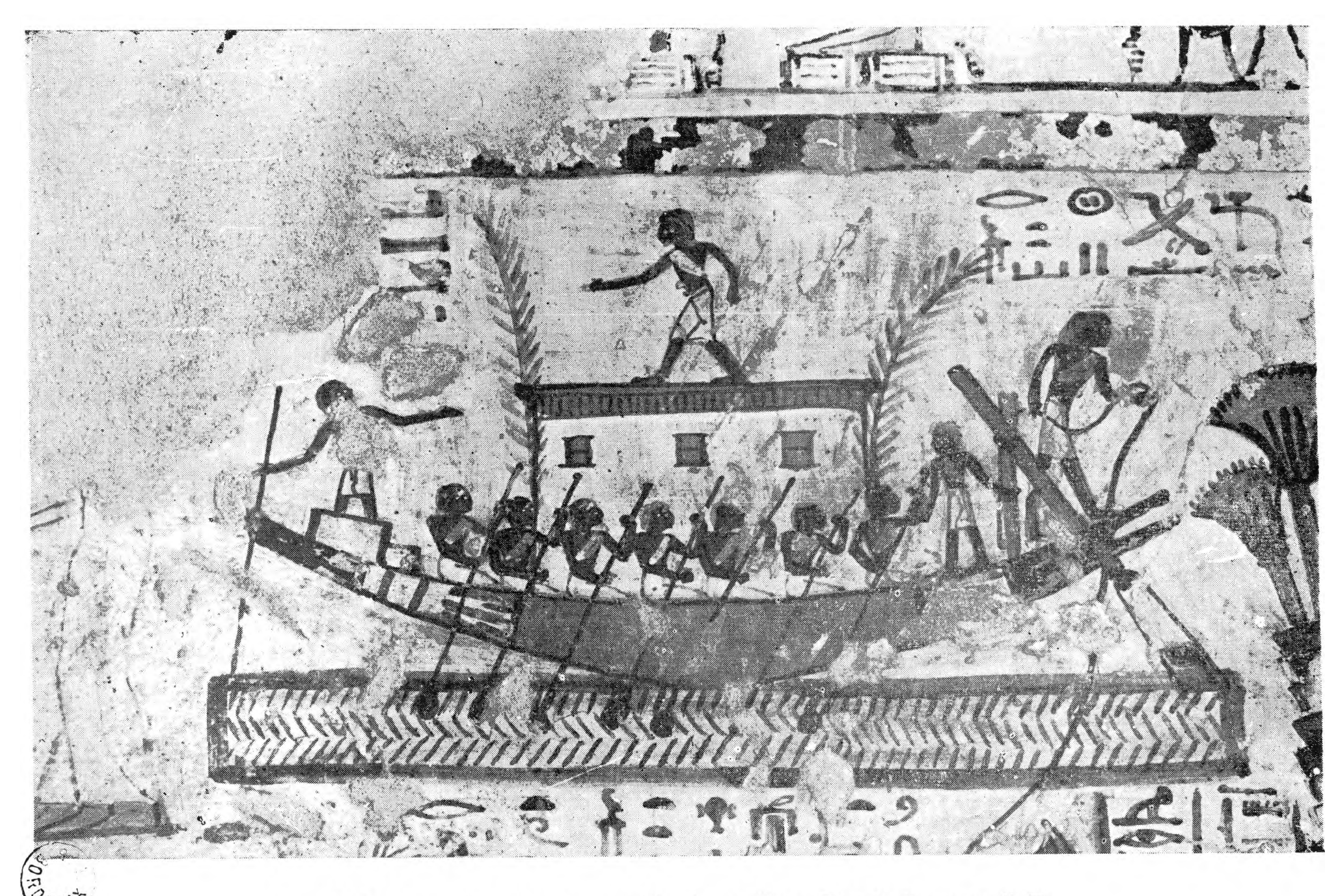
Pl. XXII

22.—Wall F. Upper register, banquet-scene. Lower register, crossing the Nile.

PL. XXIII

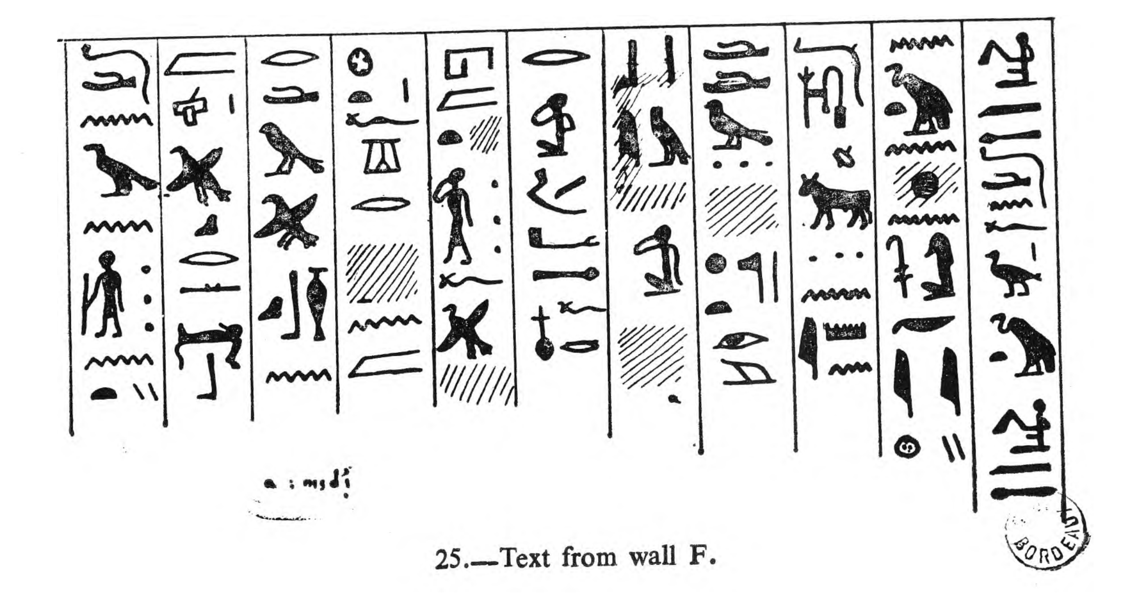


23.—The boat carrying the coffin of Kyky. His wife is mourning over his dead body.

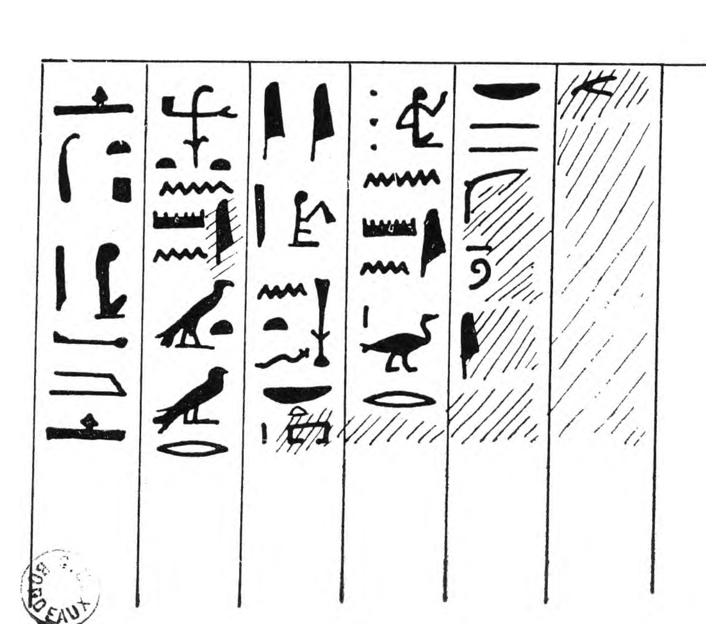


24.—A boat towing the boat with the coffin. Detail from wall F.

Pl. XXIV

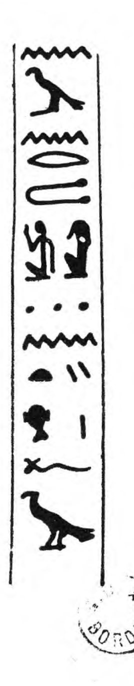


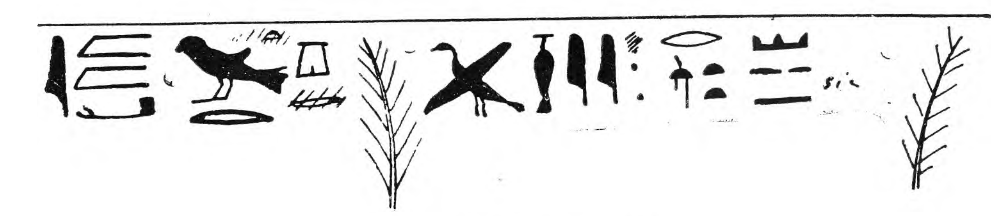
25.—Text from wall F.



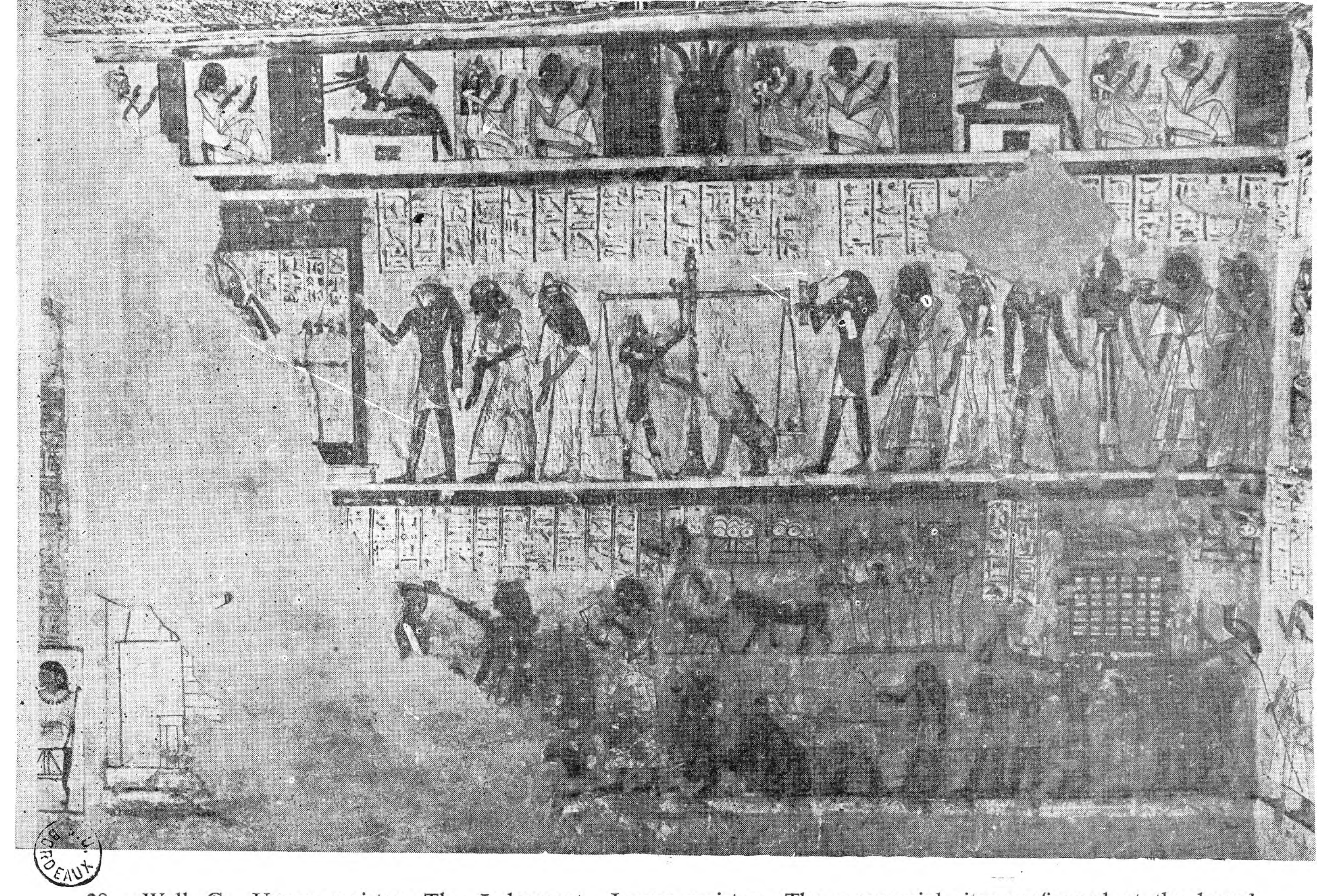
26.—Text from wall F.

Pl. XXVI



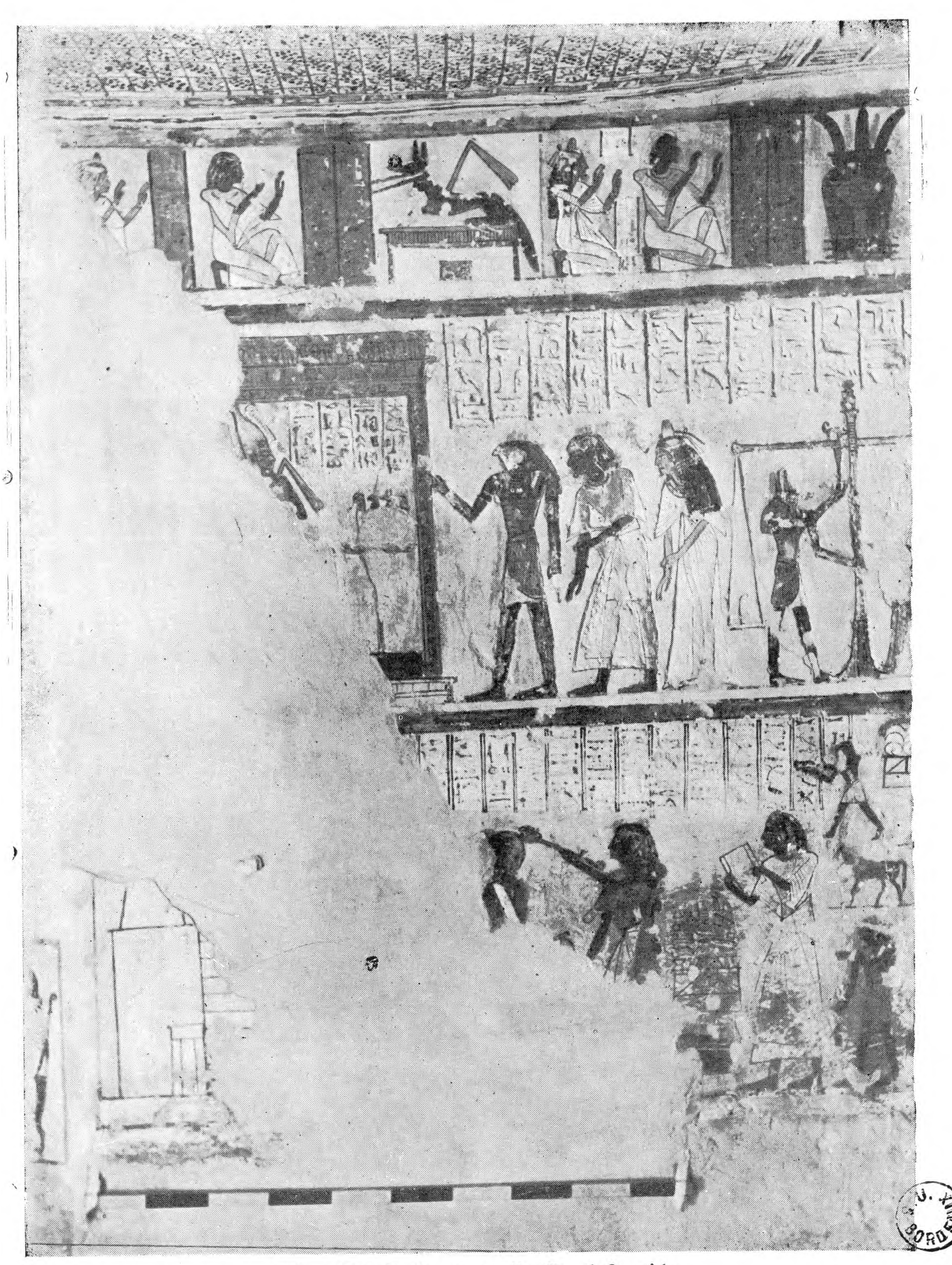


2˙.—Texts from wall F.

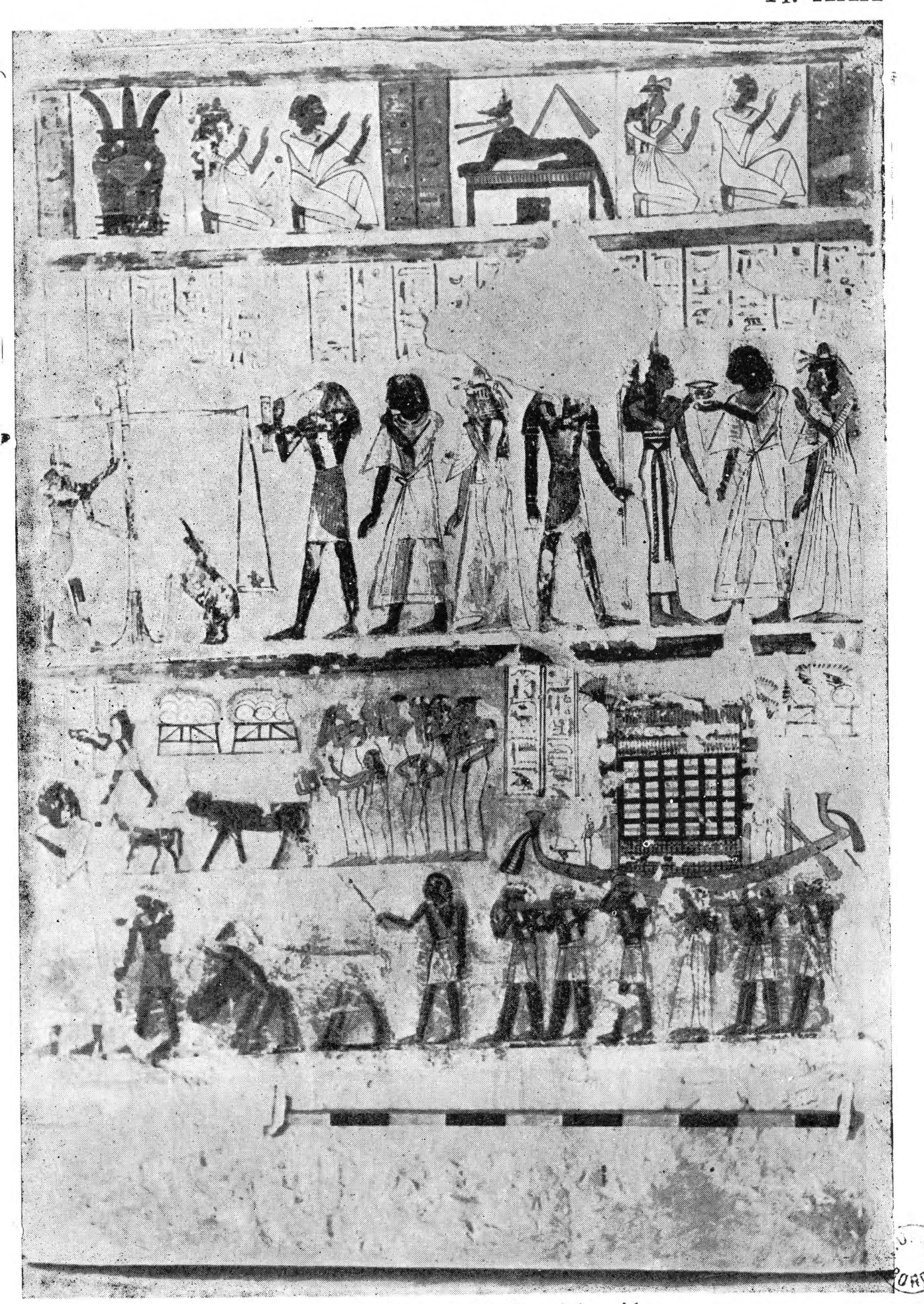


28.—Wall G. Upper register. The Judgement. Lower register. The ceremonial rites performed at the burial.

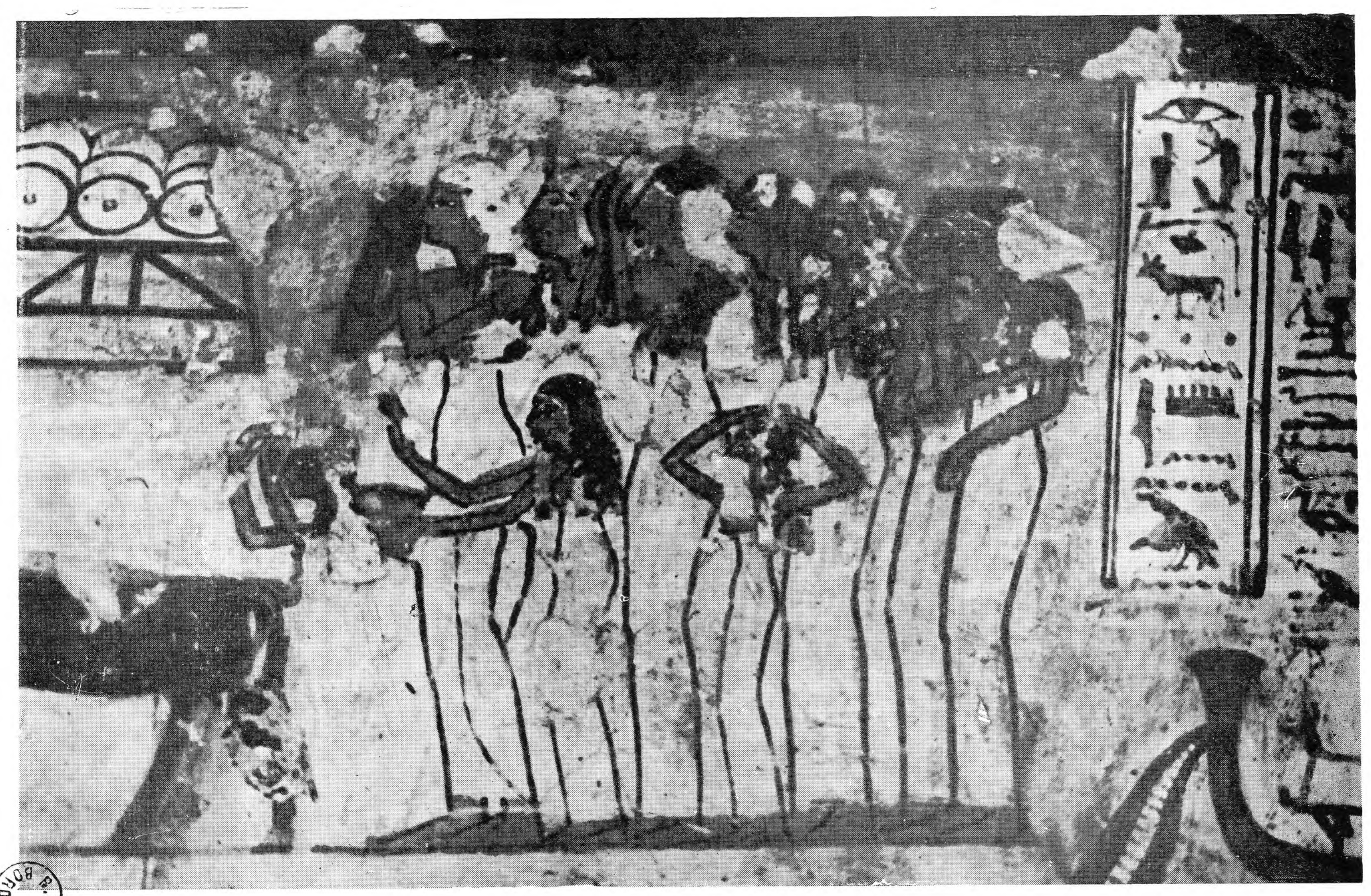
Pl. XXVIII



29.—Detail from wall G. left side.

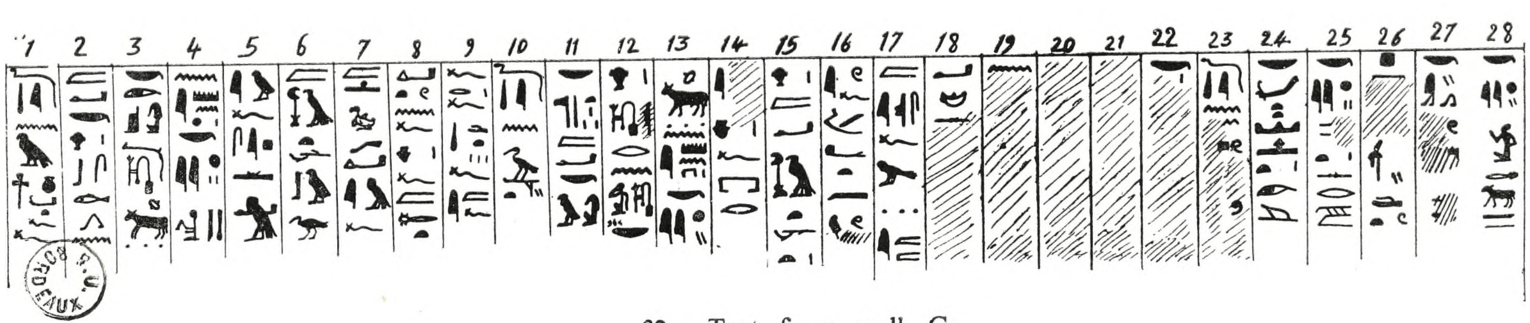


30.—Detail from wall G. right side.

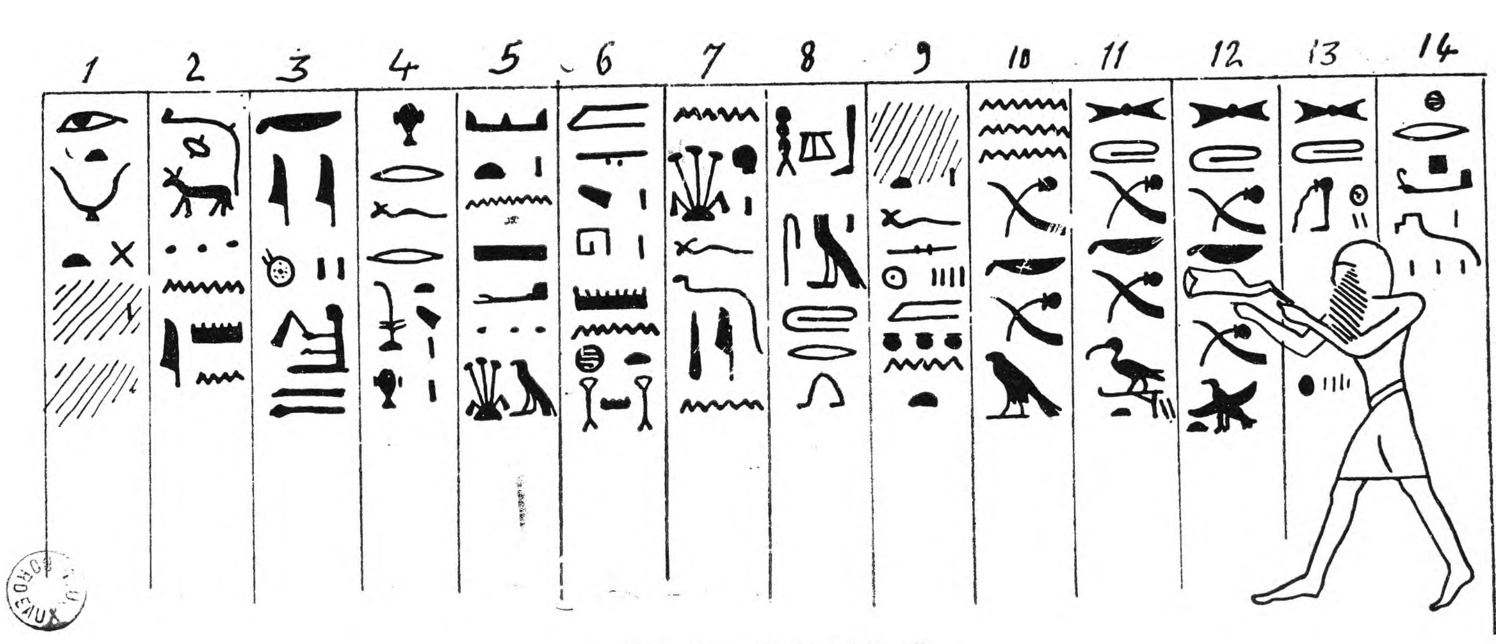


31.—A group of mourning women, detail from wall G.

PL. XXXI



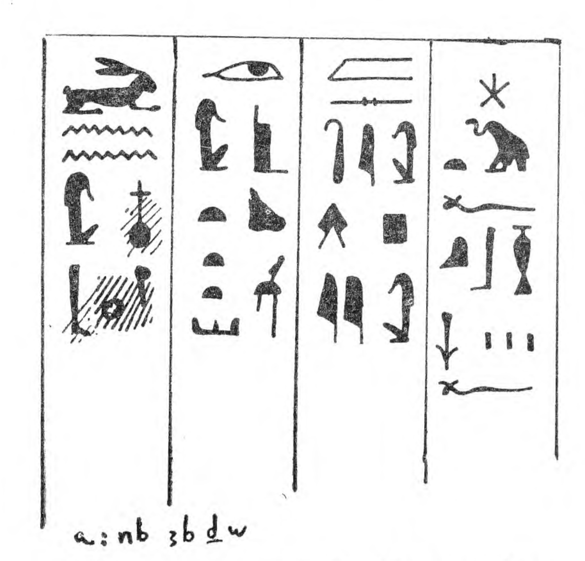
32.—Text from wall G.



33.—Text from wall G.

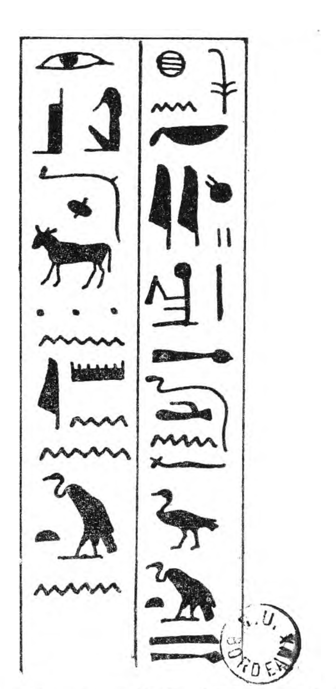
Pl. XXXIII

Pl. XXXIV

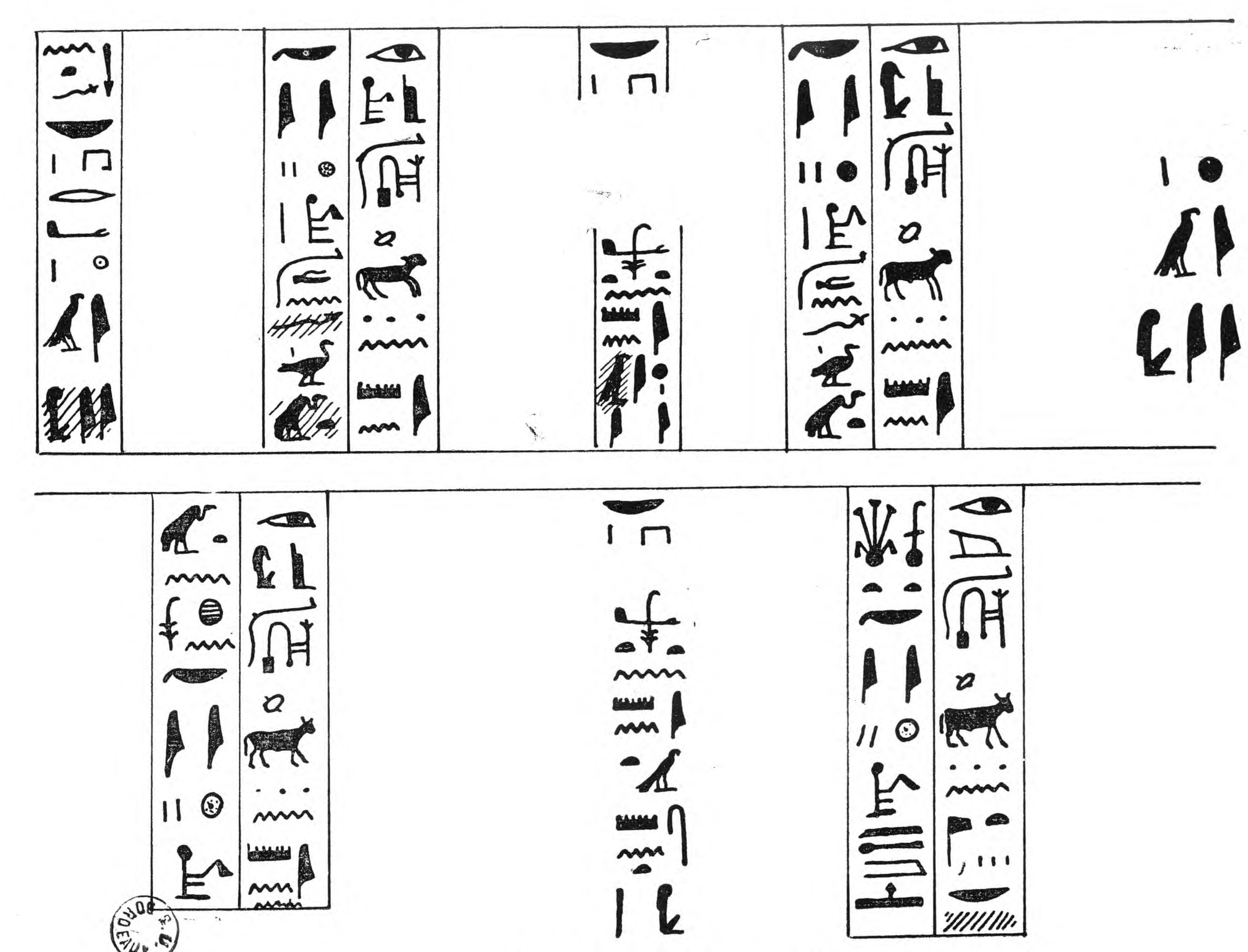


34.—Text from wall G. Upper register.

Pl. XXXV



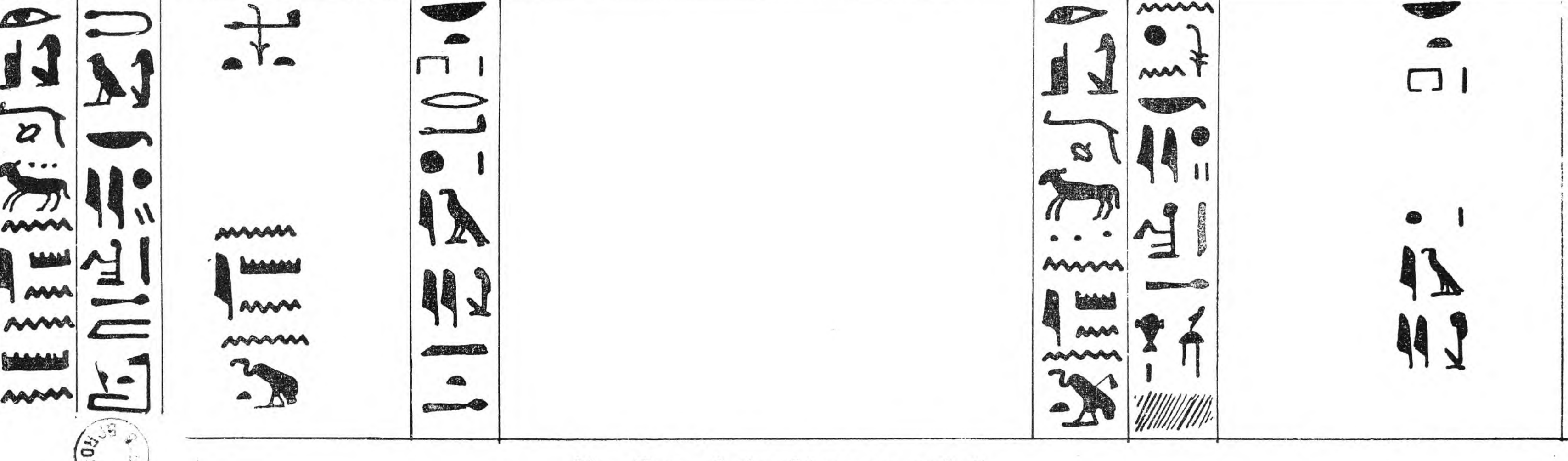
35.—Text from wall G, lower register.



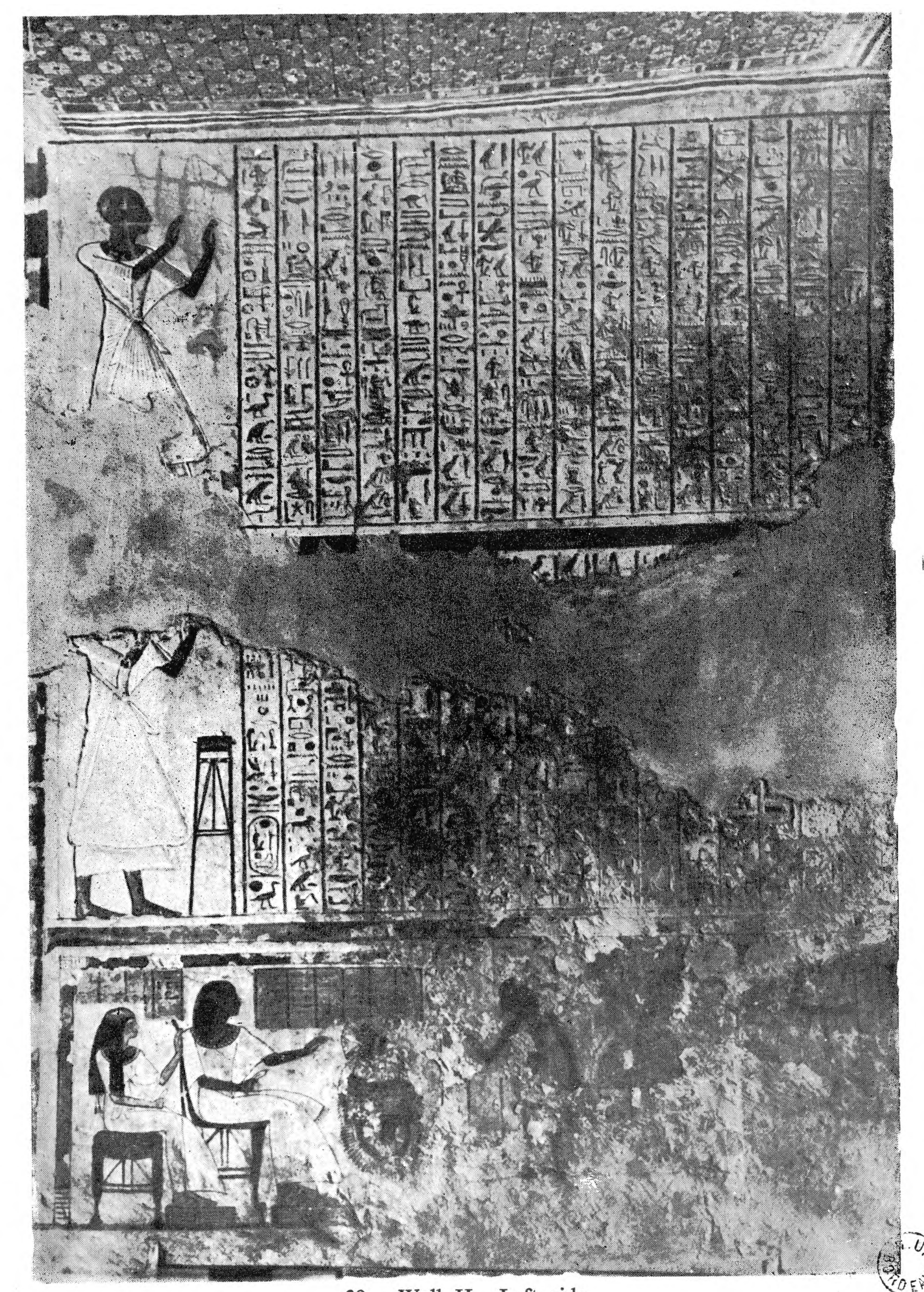
36.—Text of the frieze on wall G.

Pl. XXXVII

37.—Text of the frieze on wall F.



38.—Text of the frieze on wall E.



39.—Wall H. Left side.



40.—Wall H. Right sied.

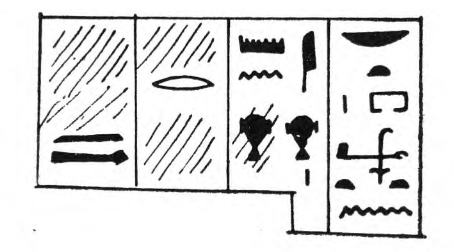


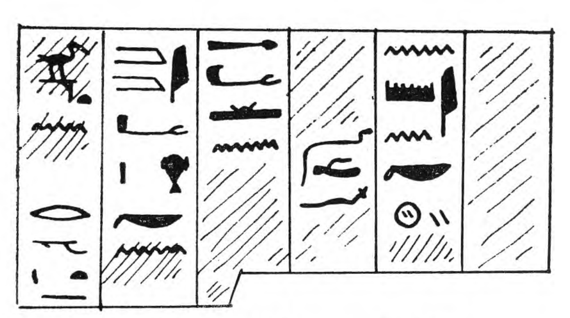
41.—Kyky, detail from wall H.

42.—Agriculture scene, detail from wall H.

Pl. XLII

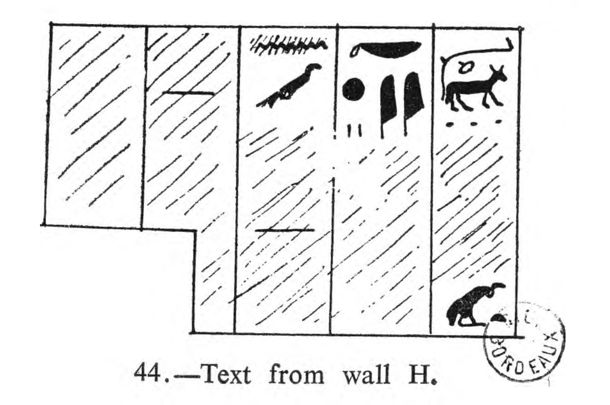
Pl. XLIII





43.—Text from wall H.

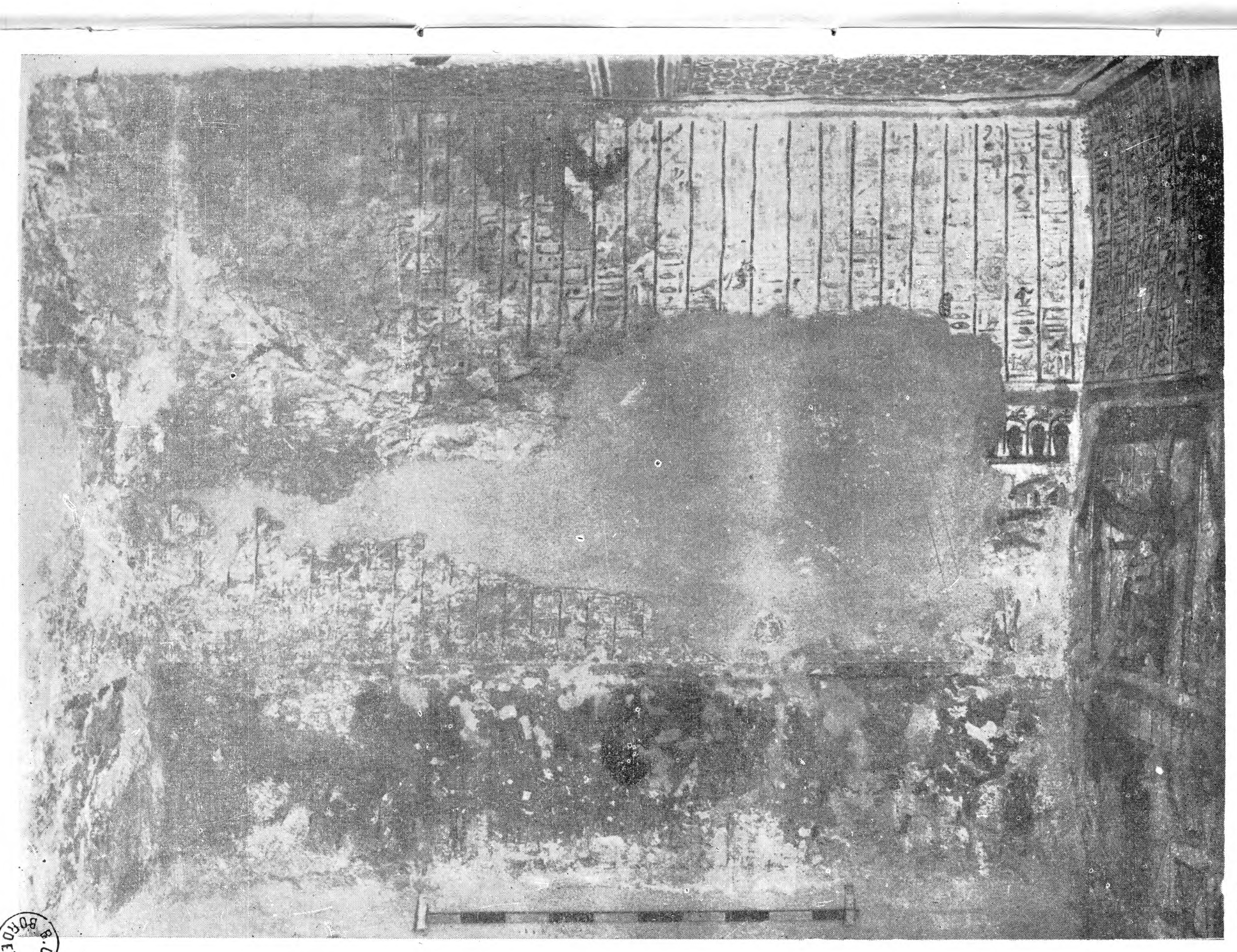
Pl. XLIV



44.—Text from wall H.

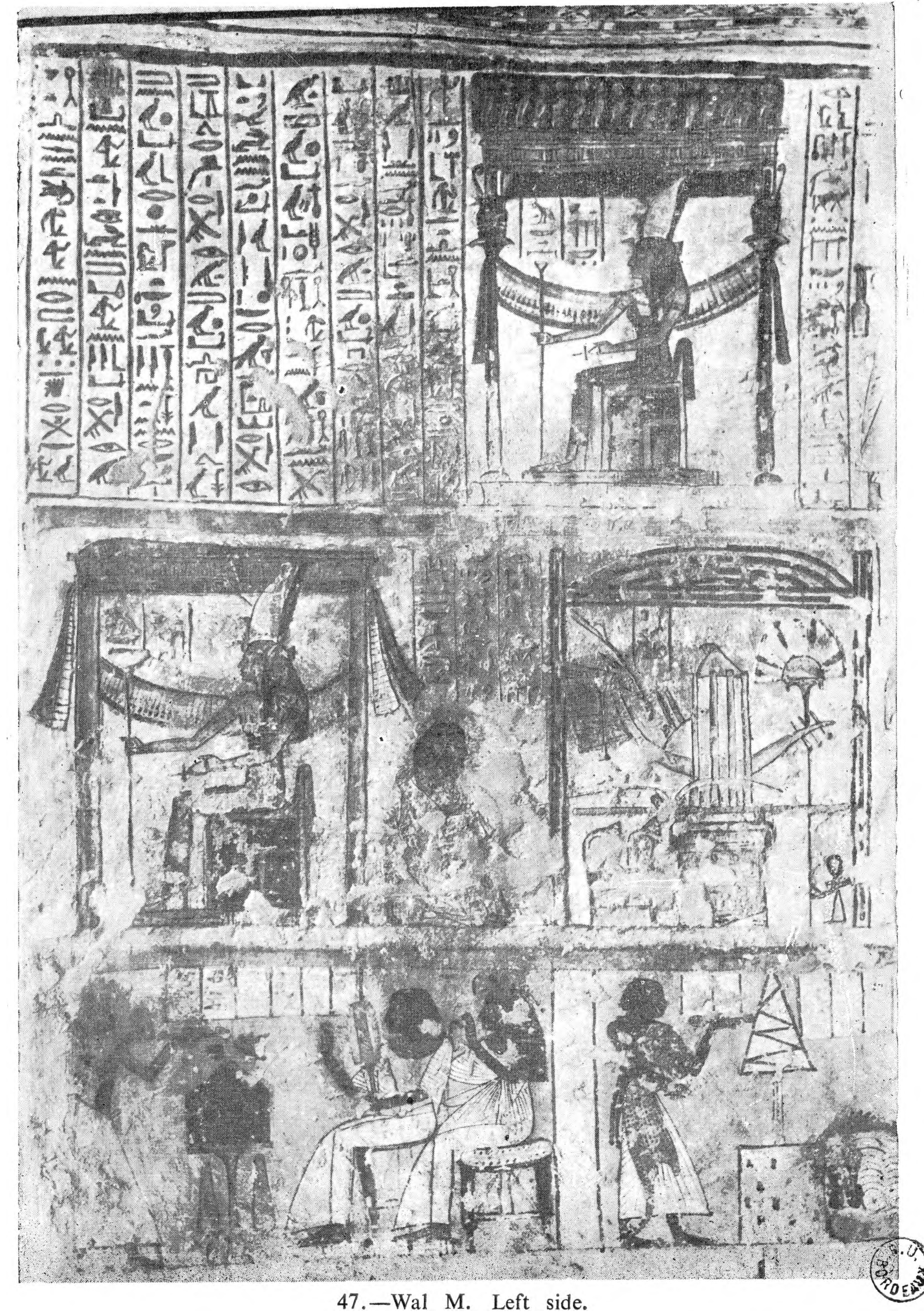
Pl. XLV

45.—Wall K. Before restoration.



46.—Wall K. After restoration.

Pl. XLVI



47.—Wal M. Left side.

Pl. XLVIII

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16

48.—Text from wall H. Upper register.

17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35. 36 37

49.—Text from wall H. Upper register

Pl. XLIX

38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59

50.—Text from wall K. Upper register.

Pl. L

Pl. LI

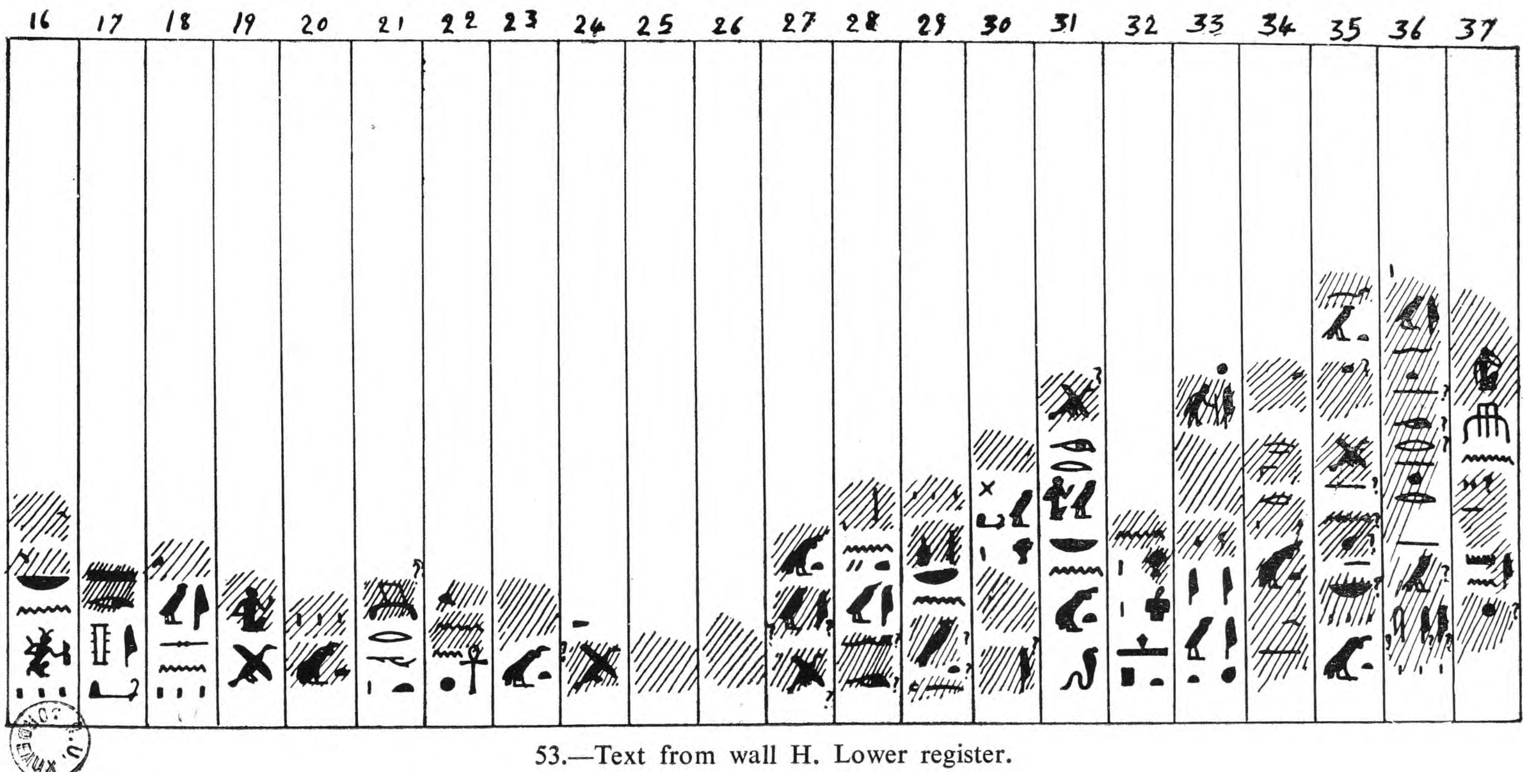
60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75

51.—Text from walls K. and M. Upper register

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15

52.—Text from wall H. Lower register

Pl. LII

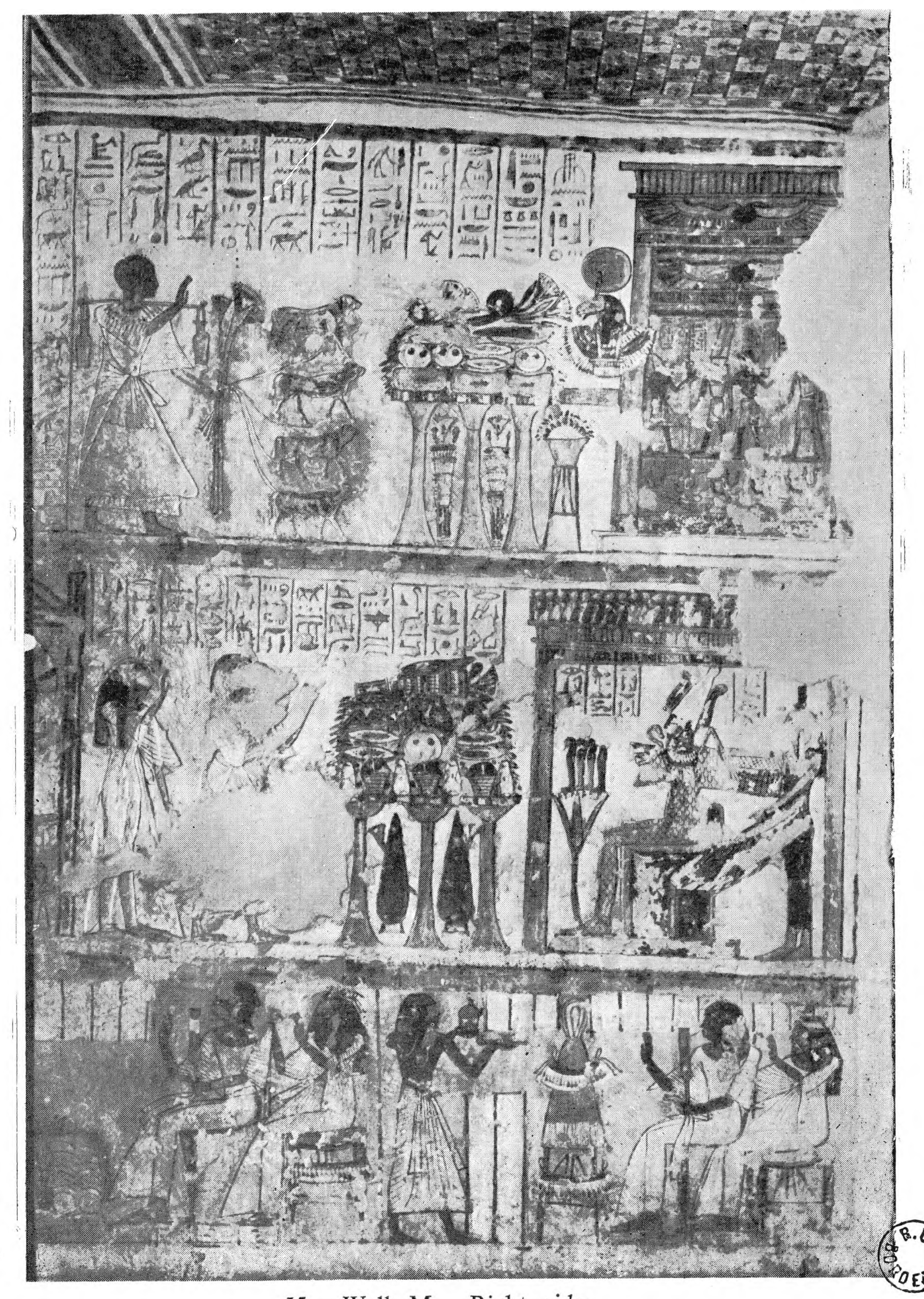


53.—Text from wall H. Lower register.

38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57

54.—Text from wall K. Lower register.

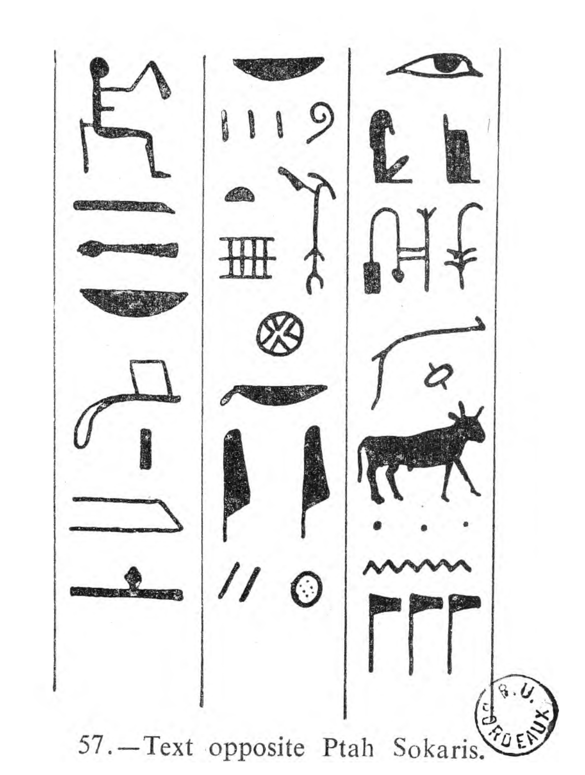
Pl. LIV



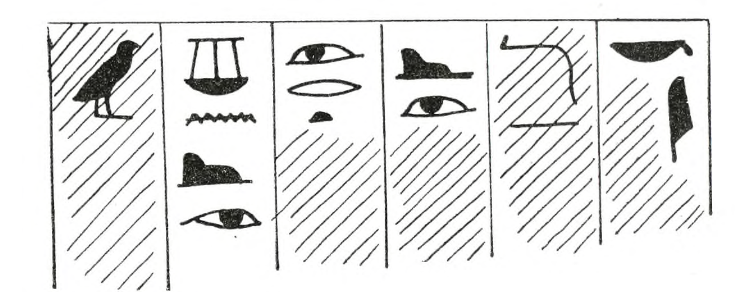
55.—Wall M., Right side.

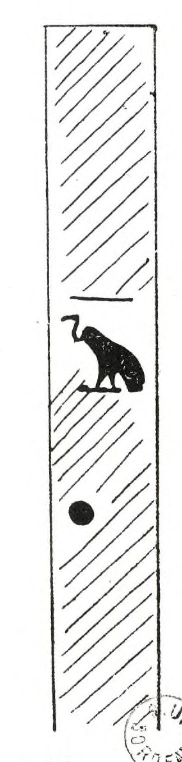


56.—Wall M. Right side.



57.—Text opposite Ptah Sokaris.

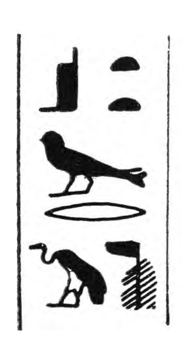


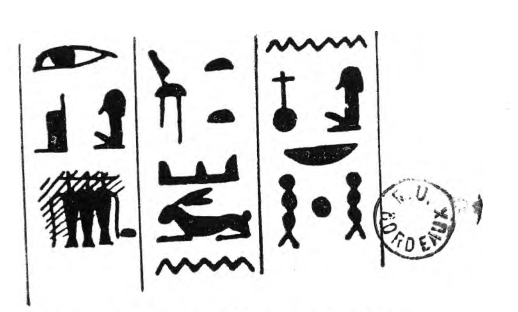


58.—Text of the offering scene, wall M.



59.—Text of the offering scene, wall M.





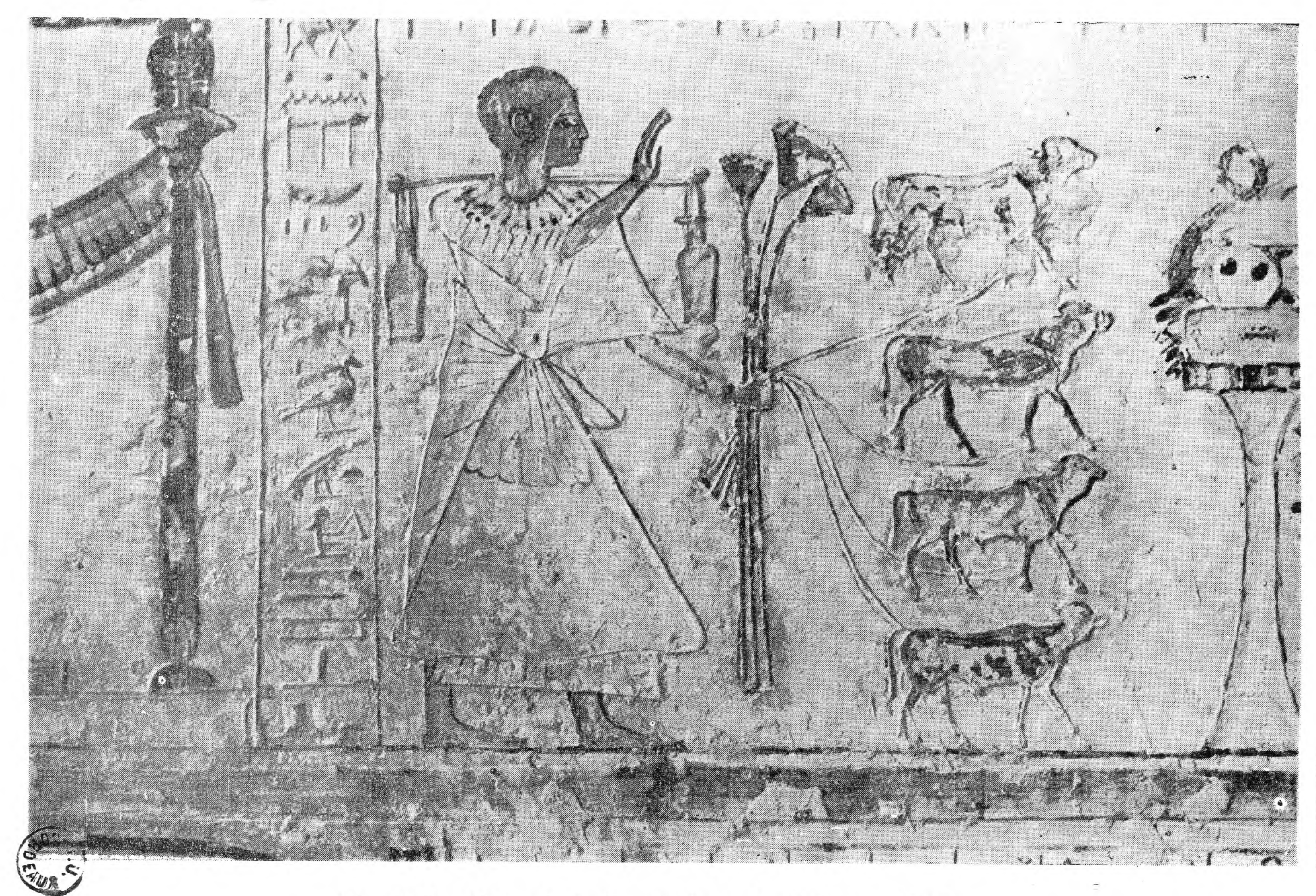
60.—Text of Osiris, wall M.



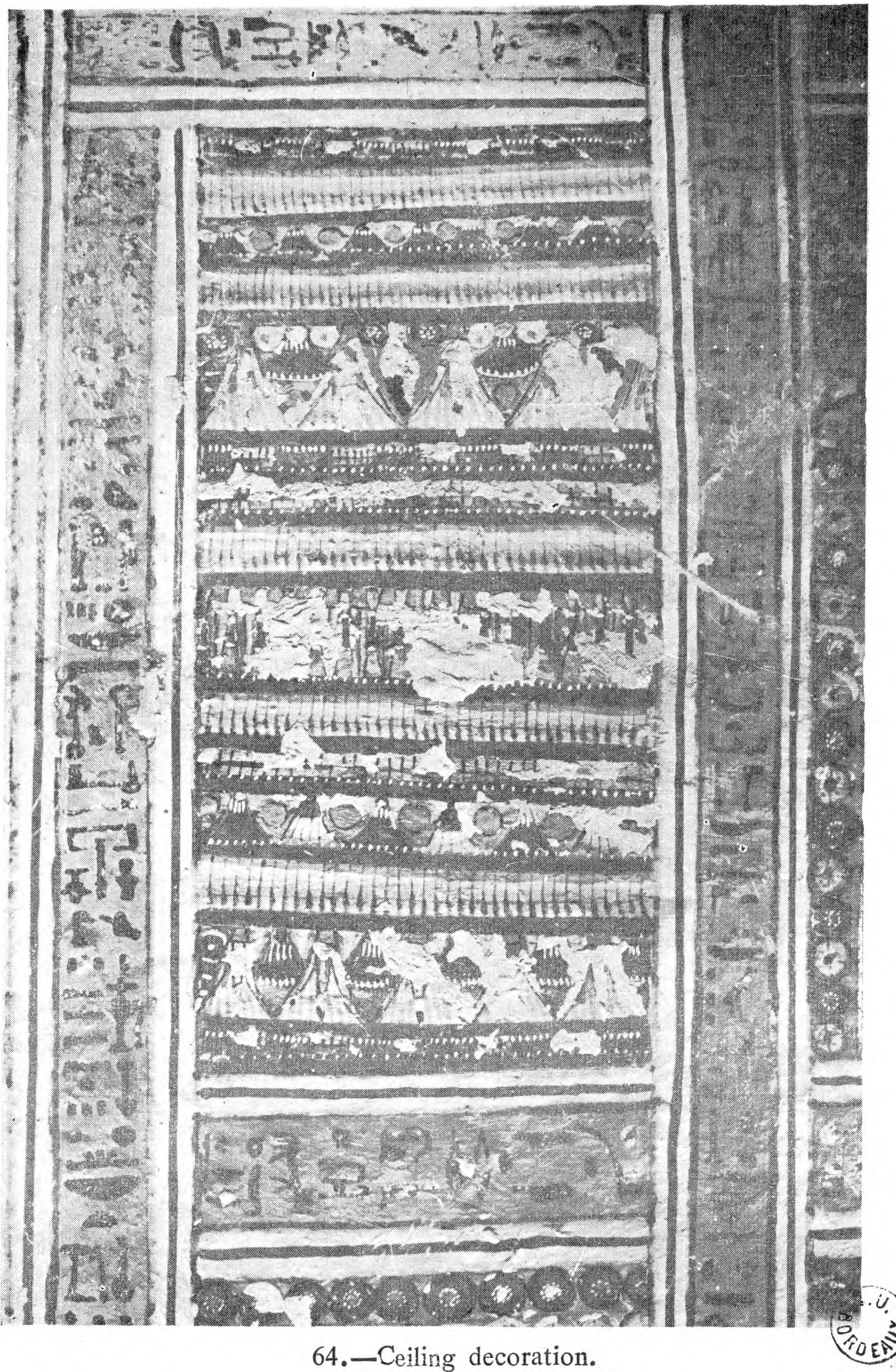
61.—Goddess Mut, detail from wall M.

62.—The shrine of Amun Re, detail from wall M.

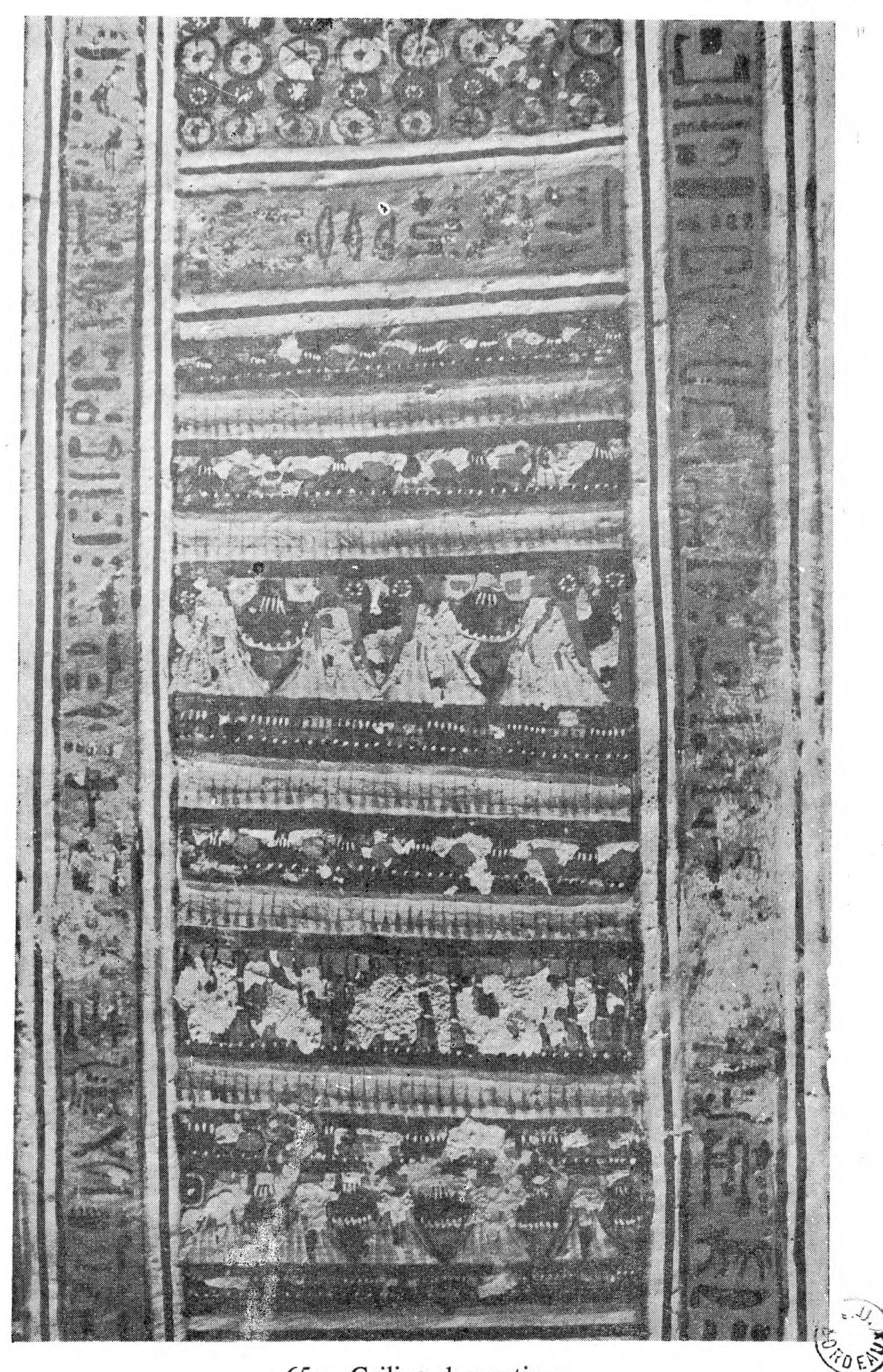
Pl. LXII



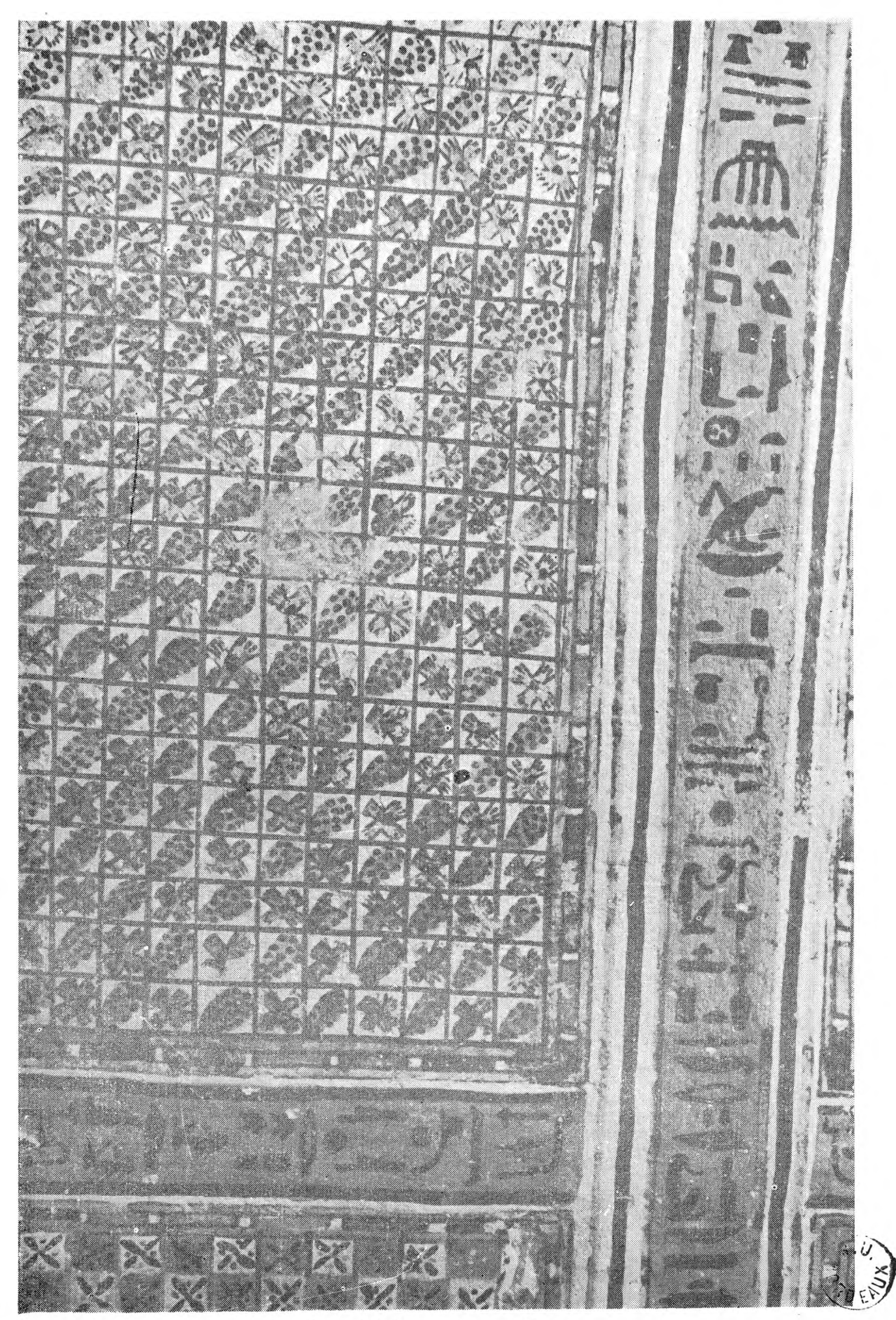
63.—Kyky driving bulls for offerings, detail from wall M.



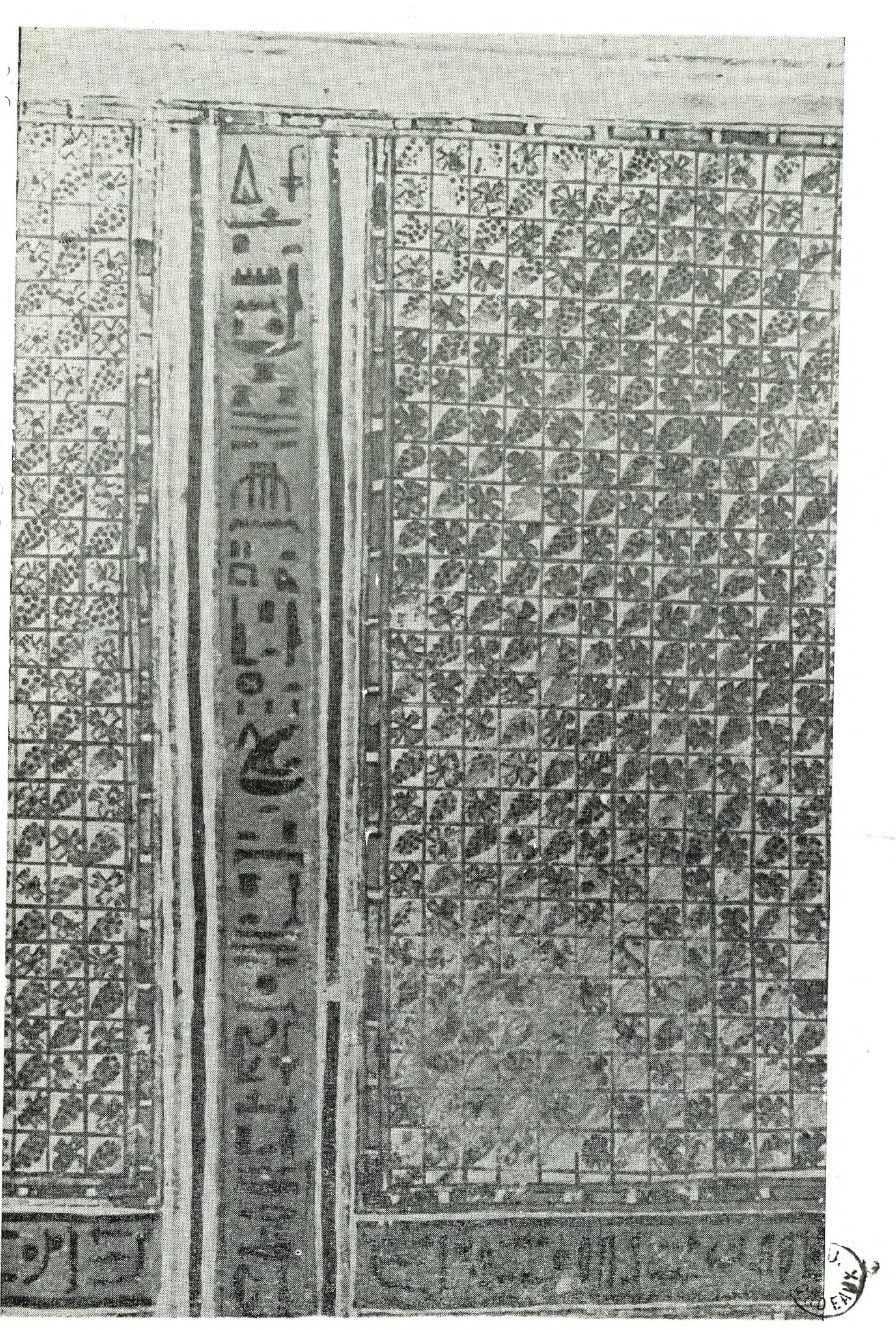
64.—Ceiling decoration.



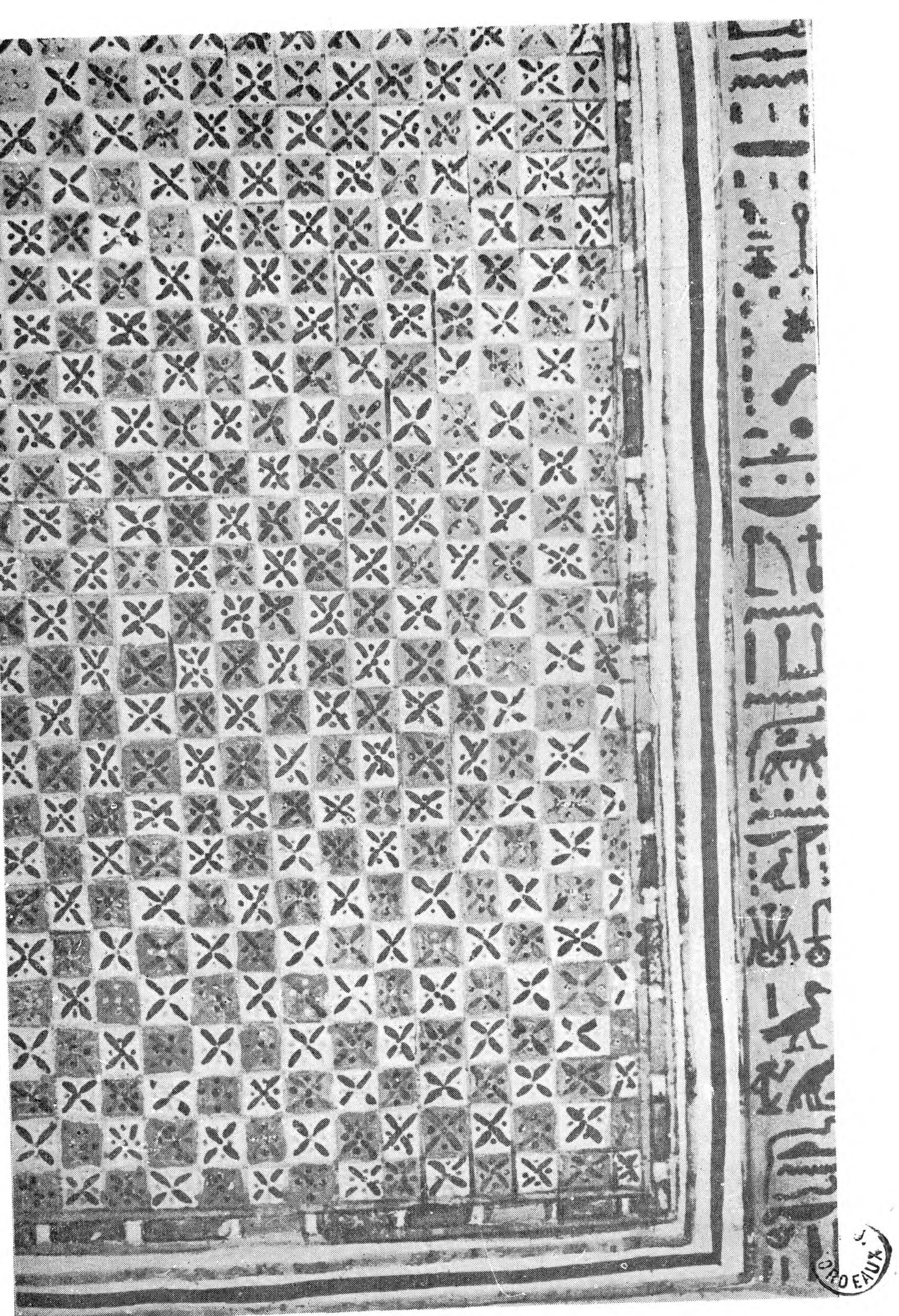
65.—Ceiling decoration.



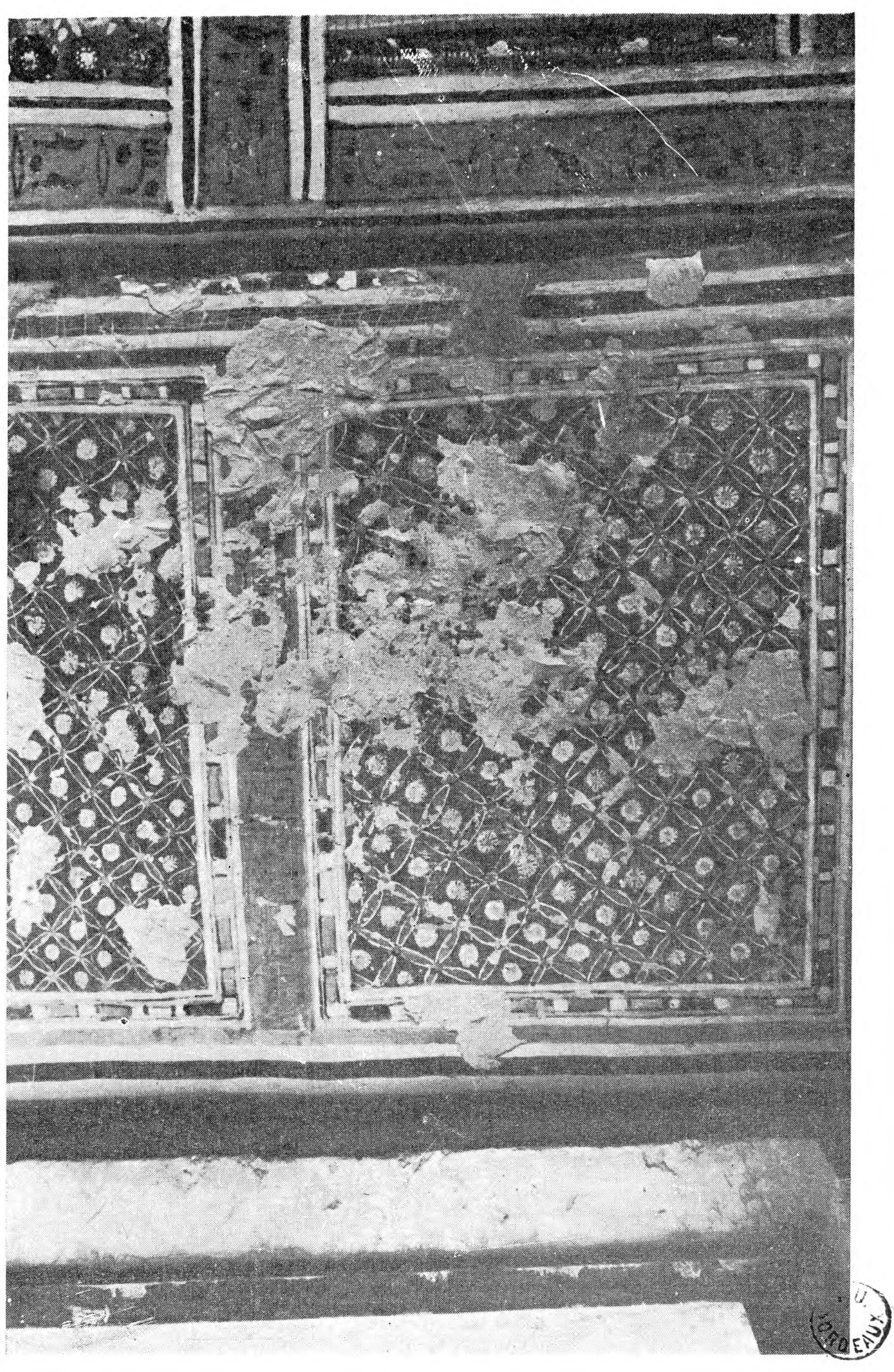
66.—Ceiling decoration.



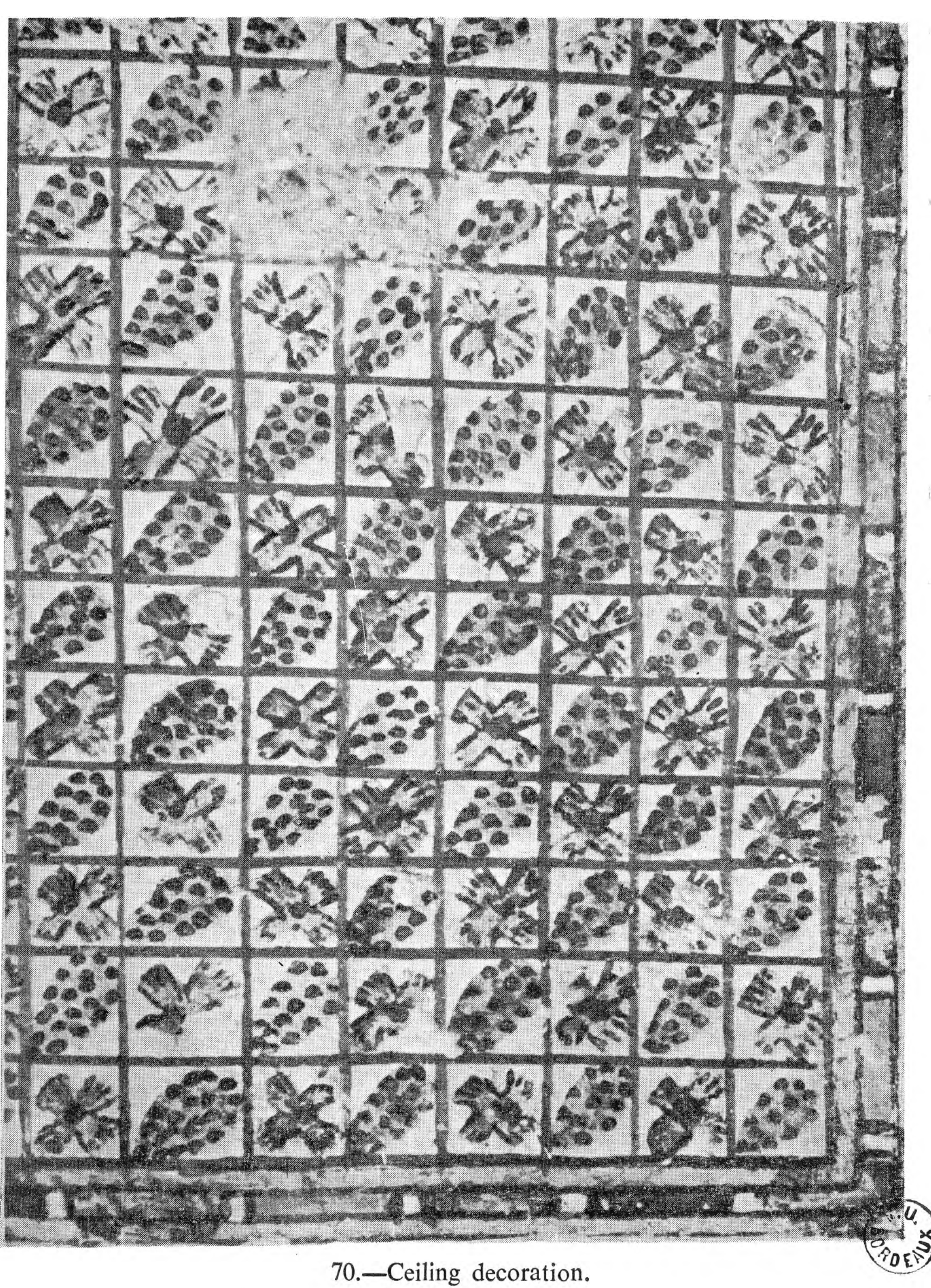
67.—Ceiling decoration.



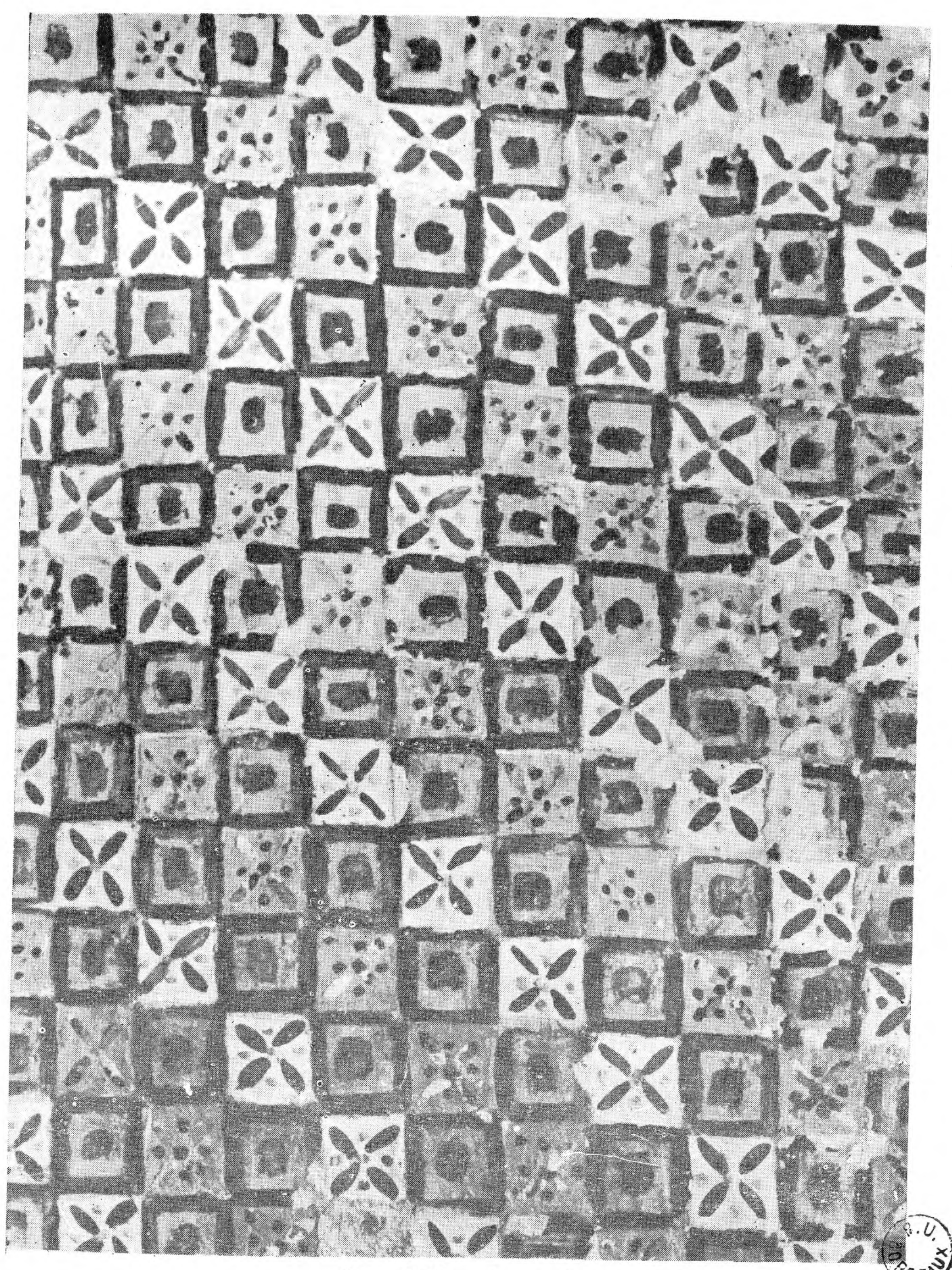
68.—Ceiling decoration.



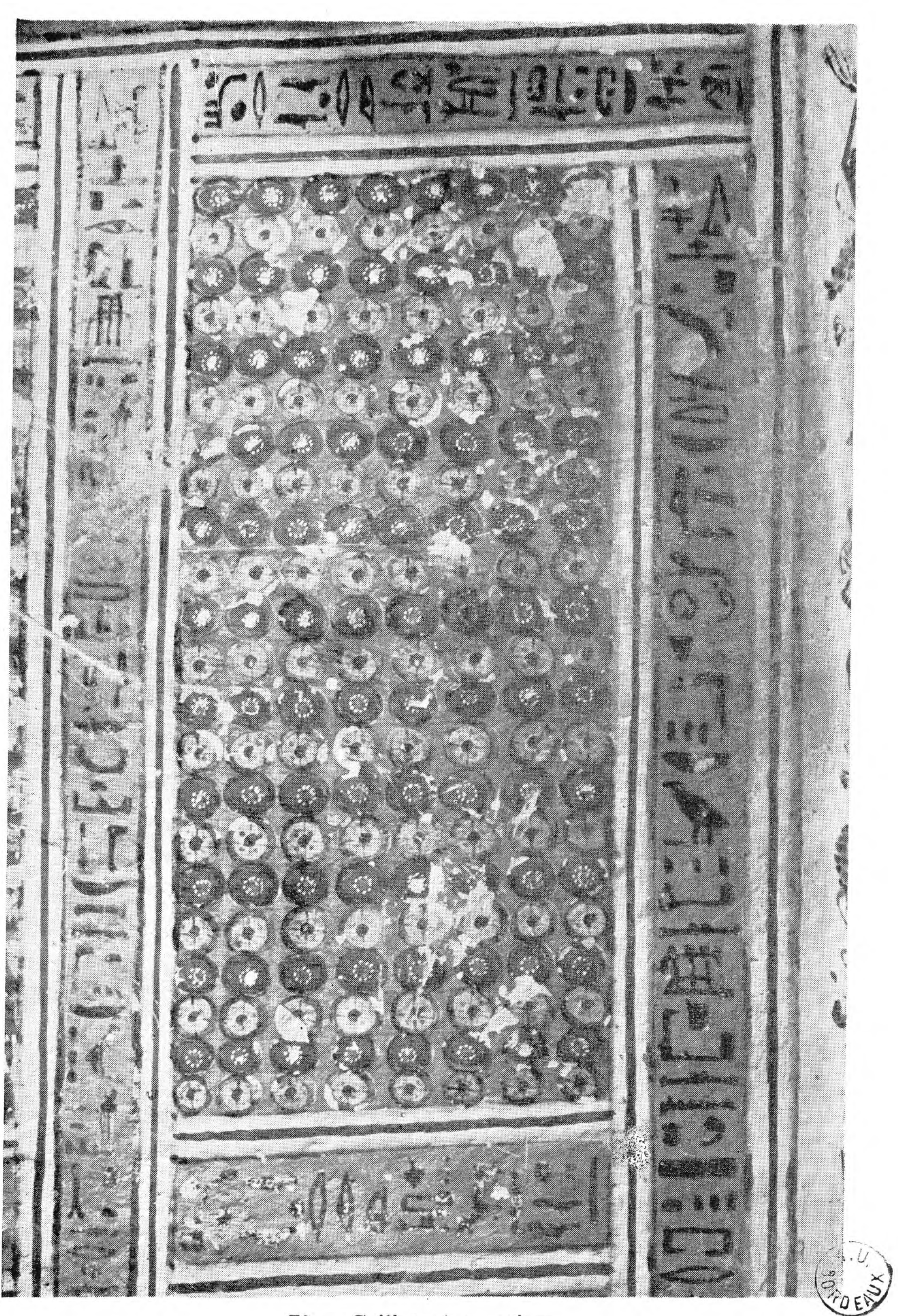
69.—Ceiling decoration.



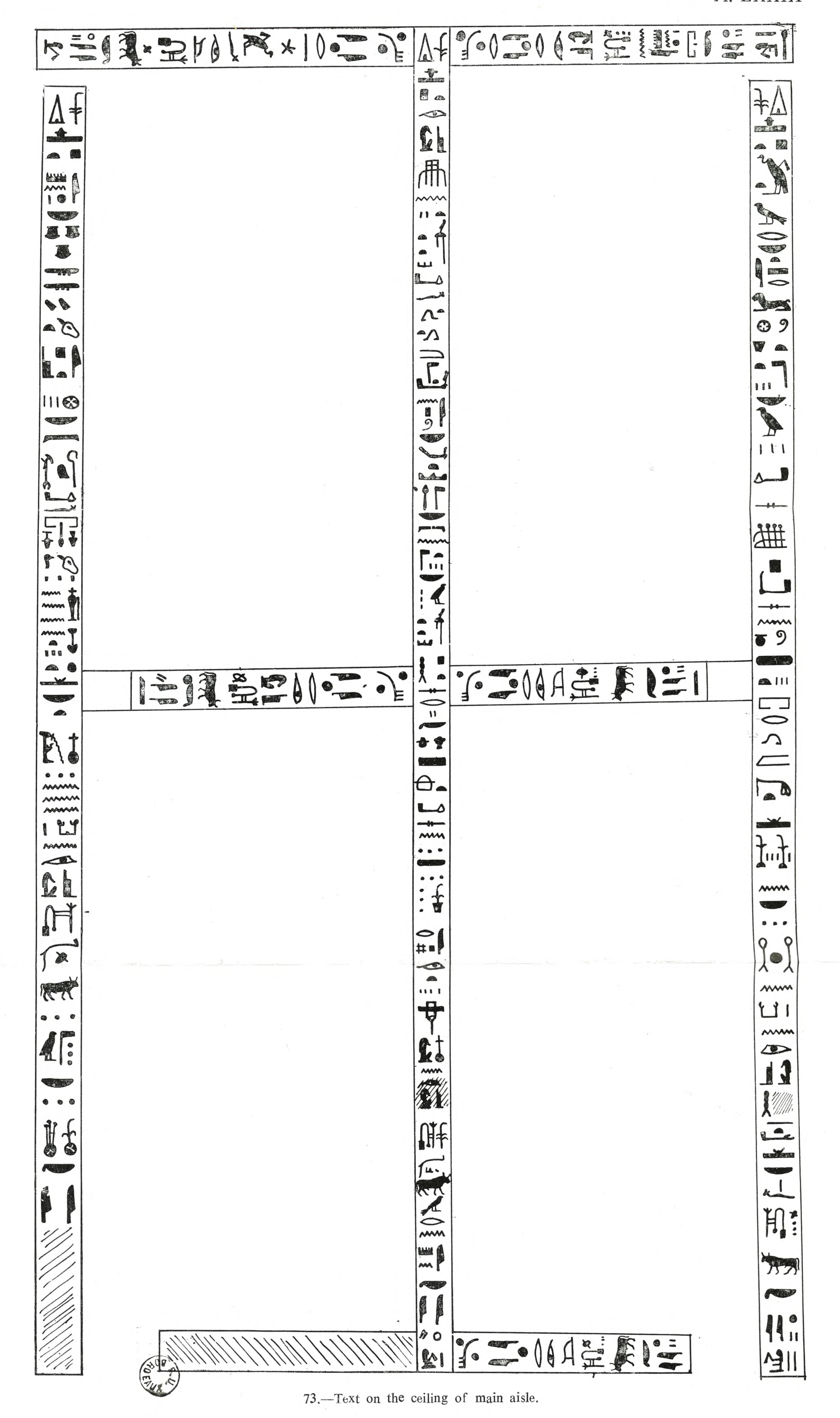
70.—Ceiling decoration.



71.—Ceiling decoration.



72.—Ceiling decoration.



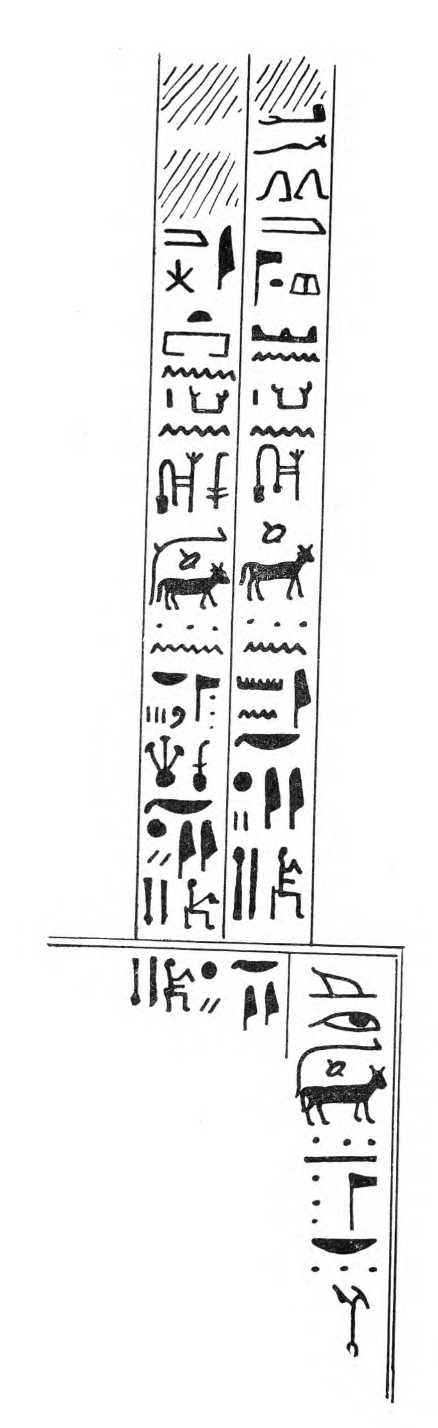
73.—Text on the ceiling of main aisle.

74.—Text on the ceiling of the side aisle.

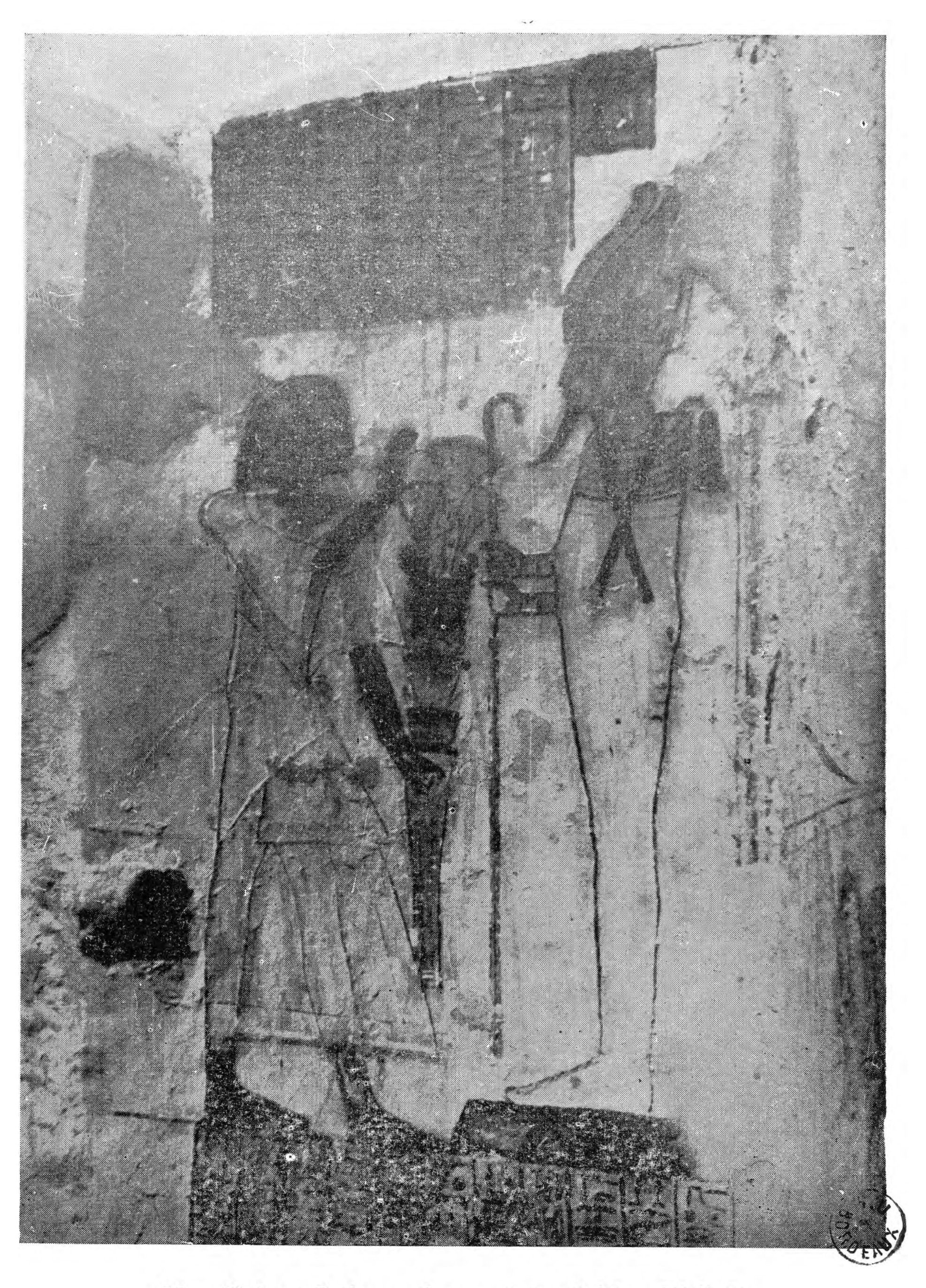
75. Text on the ceiling of the side aisle.



76.—Kyky sitting, wall N.



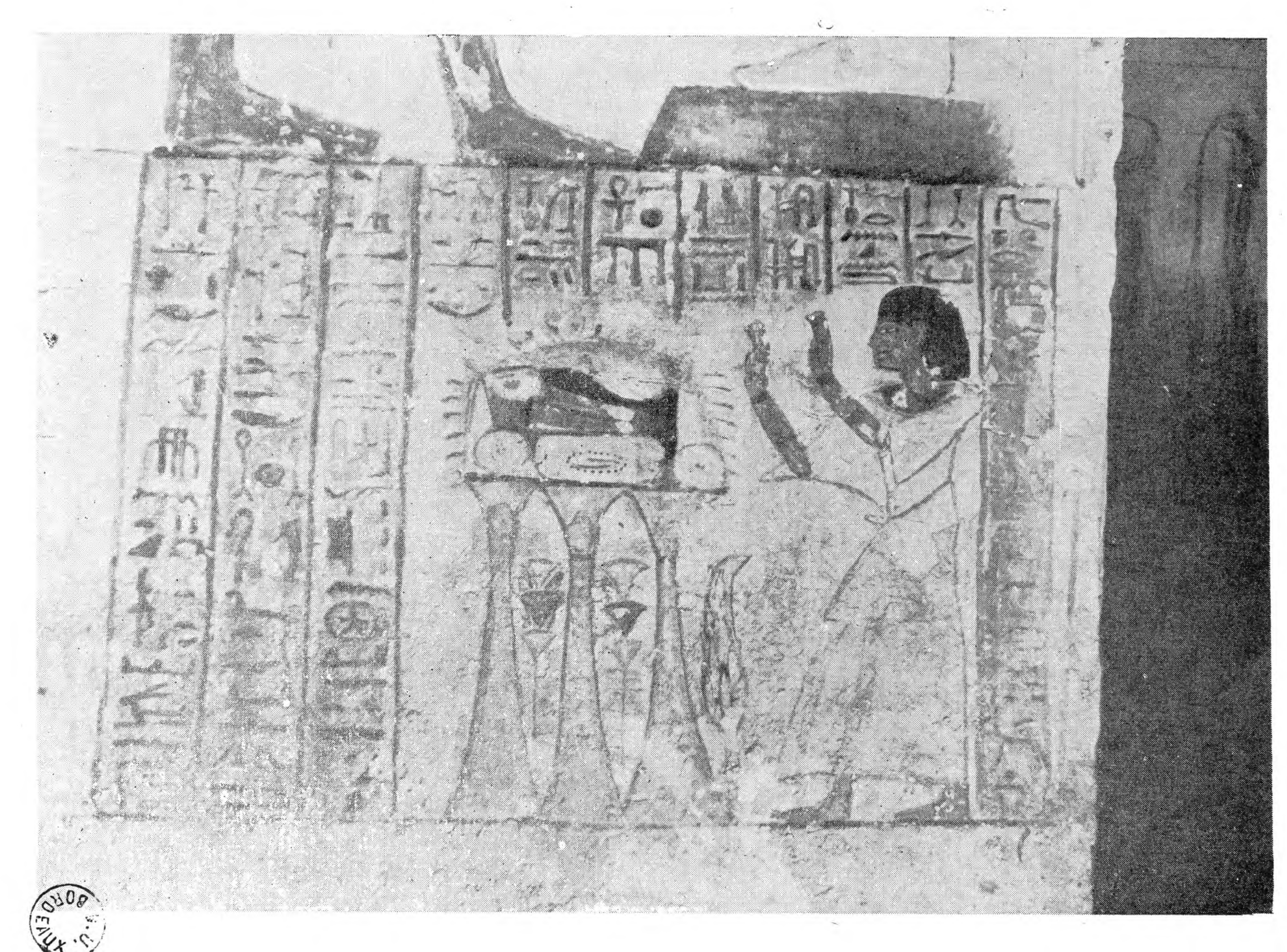
77.—Text on wall N.



78.—Kyky offering a bouquet to Osiris. Wall P.



79.—Text on wall P.



80.—Wall P. Lower register.

Pl. LXXX



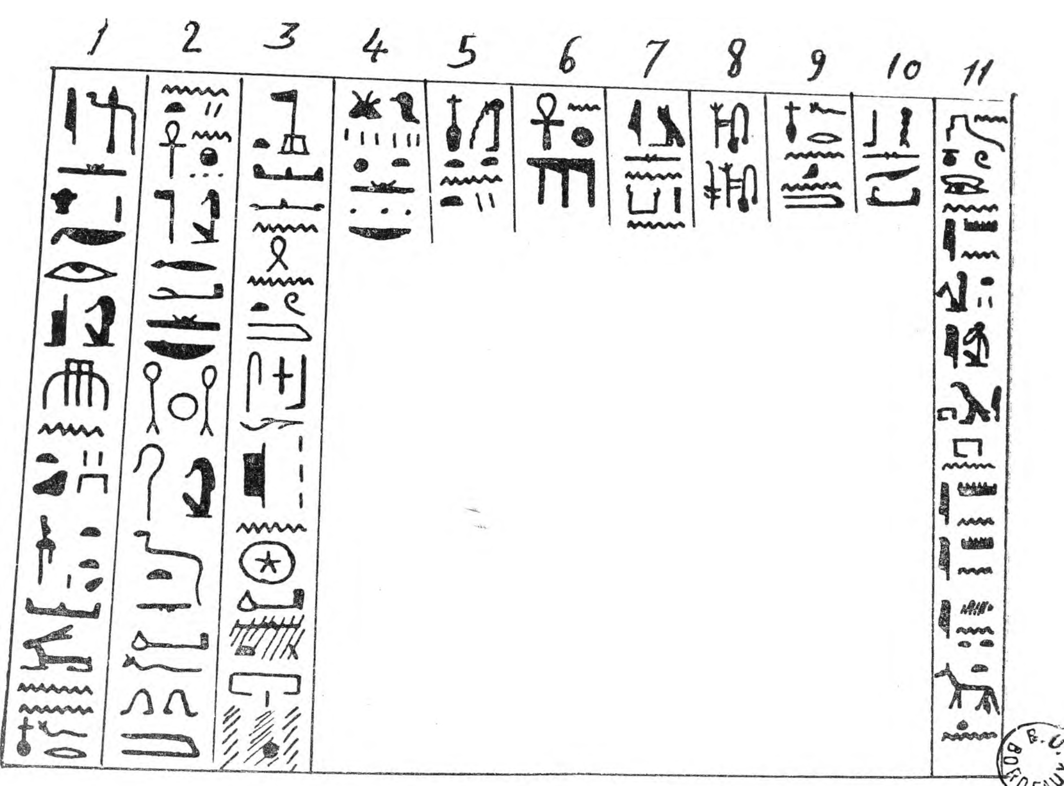
81.—Wall O.

Pl. LXXXII



82.—Text on wall O.

Pl. LXXXIII



83.—Text on wall P., lower register.



84.—Wall R. Upper register, the erection of the *ḏd*-pillar. Lower register, goddess Nut suplying the deceased and his wife with cold water.



85.—Wall R. A drawing.

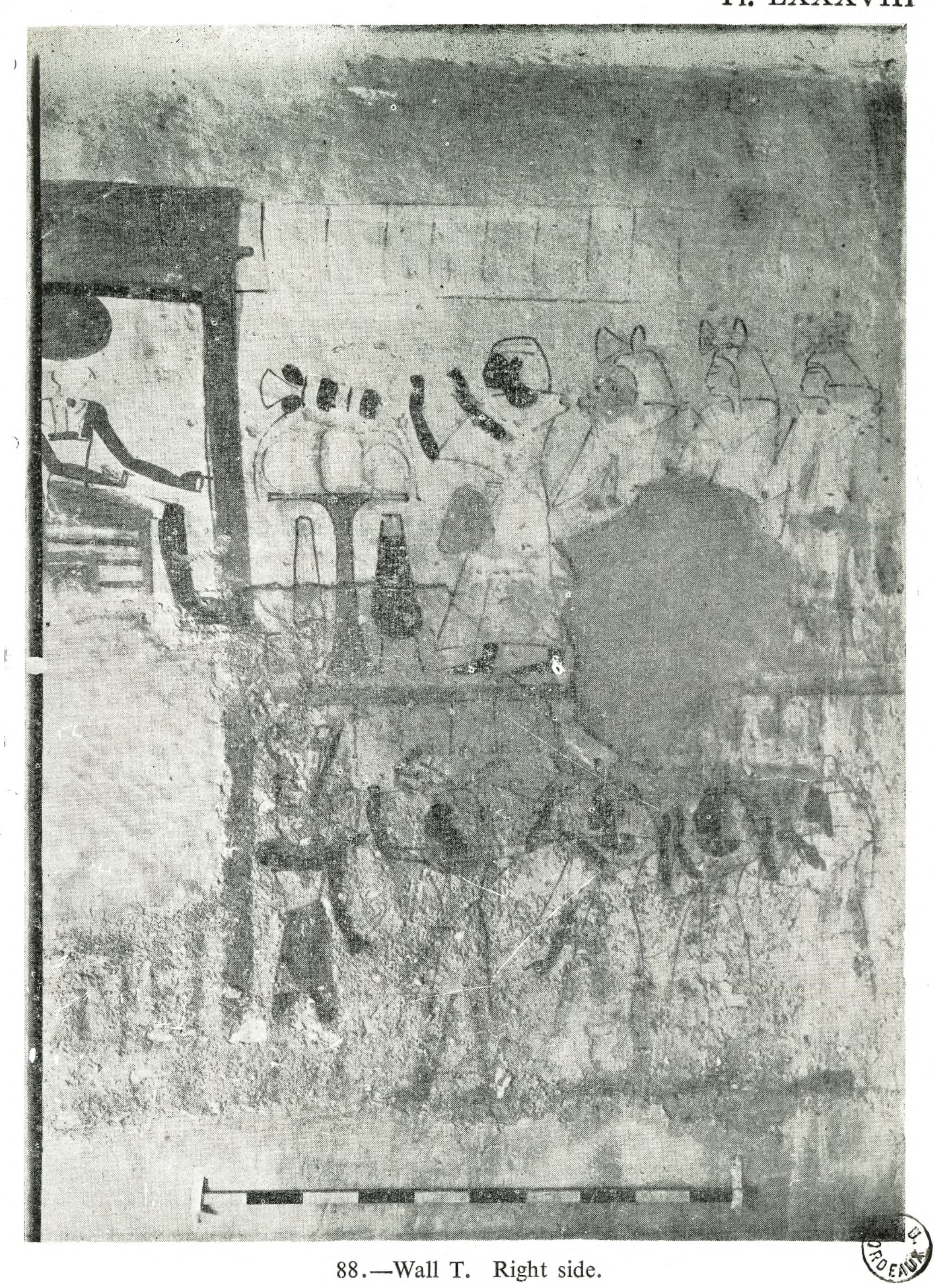
Pl. LXXXVI



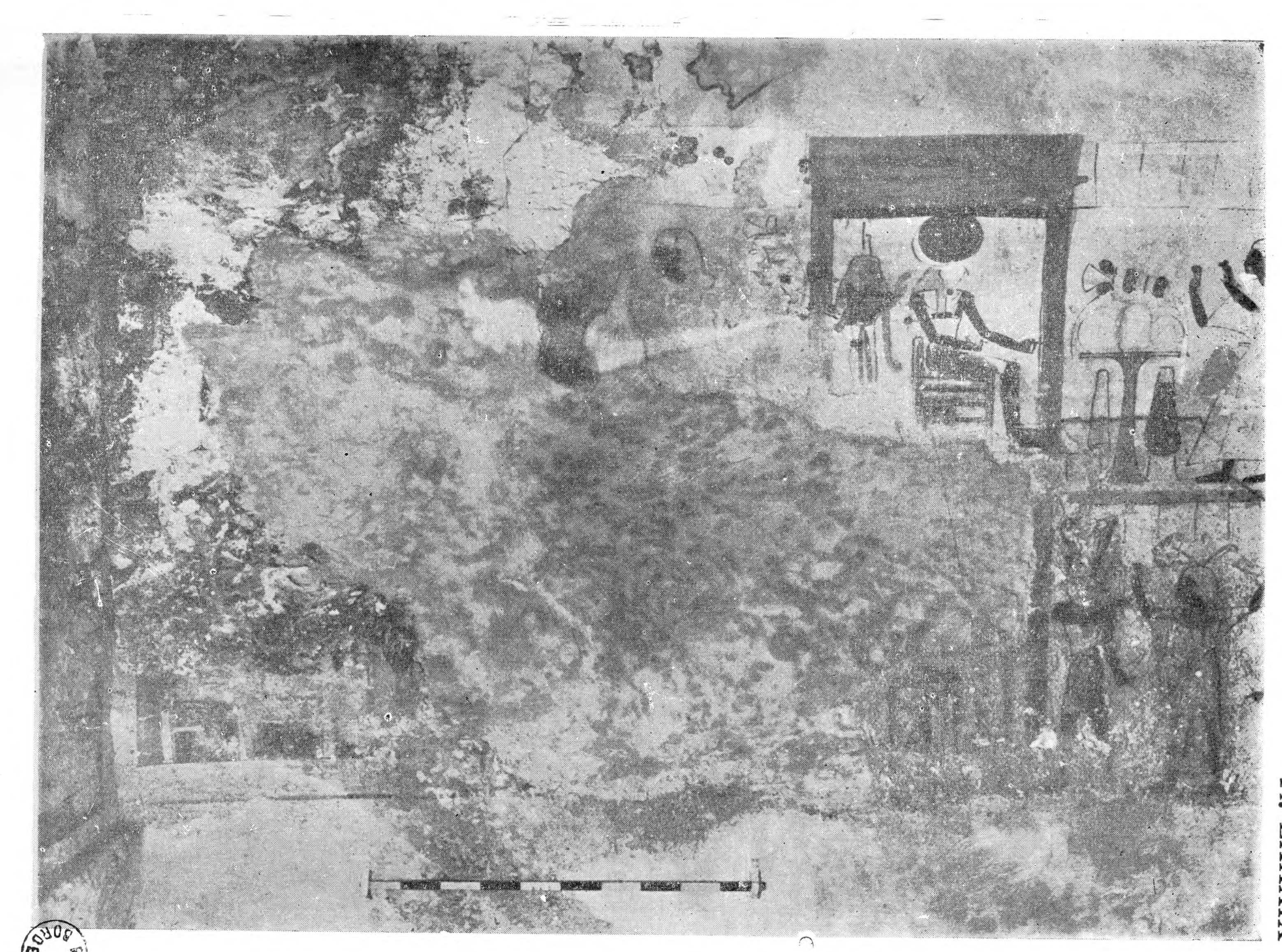
86.—Wall S. The mummy of the deceased is carried into the burial chamber.

Pl. LXXXVII

87.—Wall S. A drawing of last.

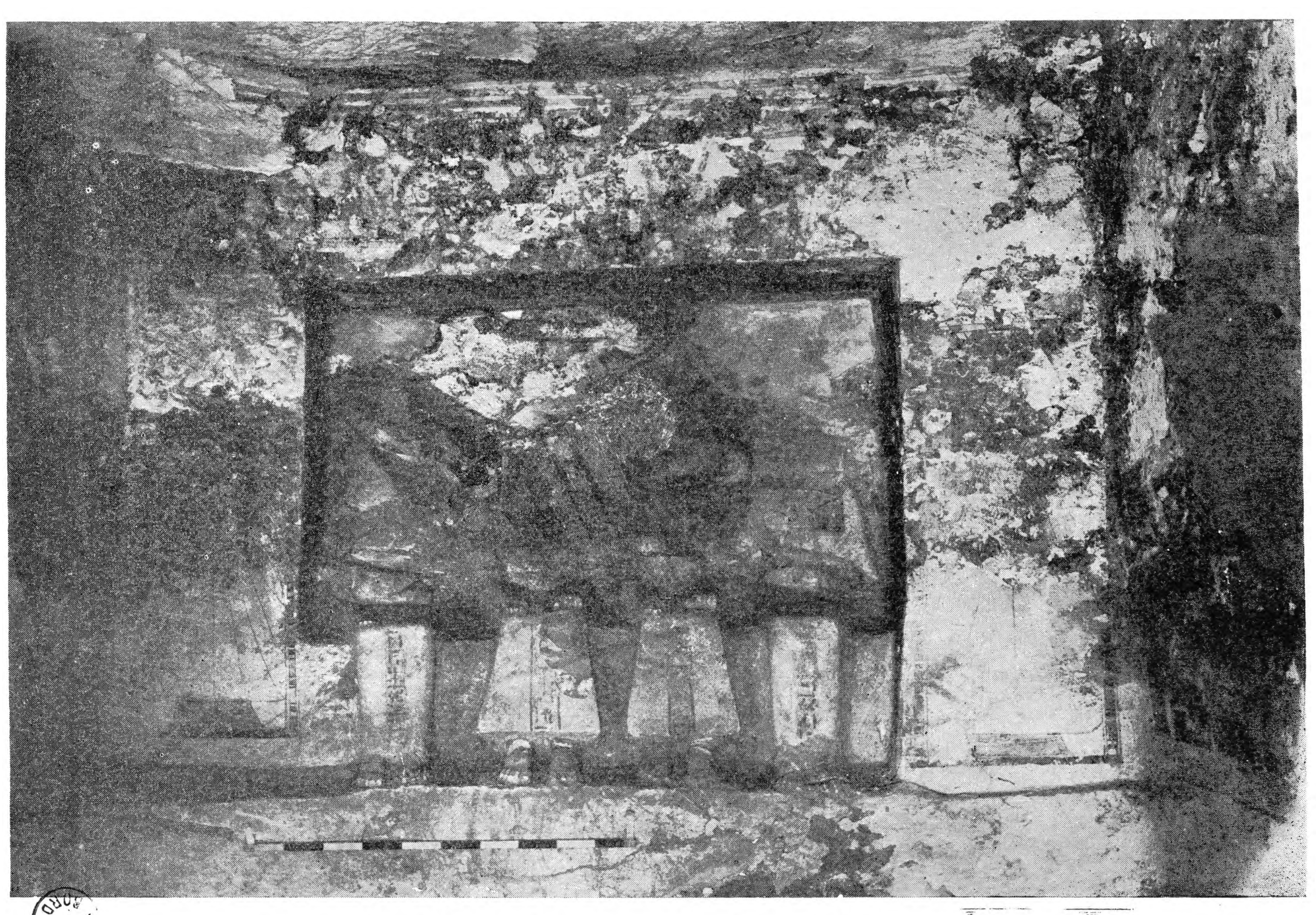


88.—Wall T. Right side.

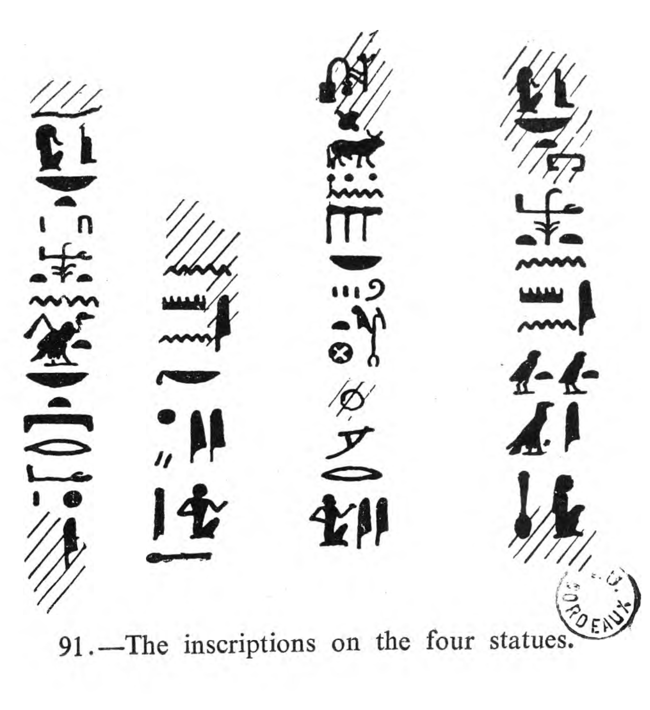


89.—Wall T. Left side.

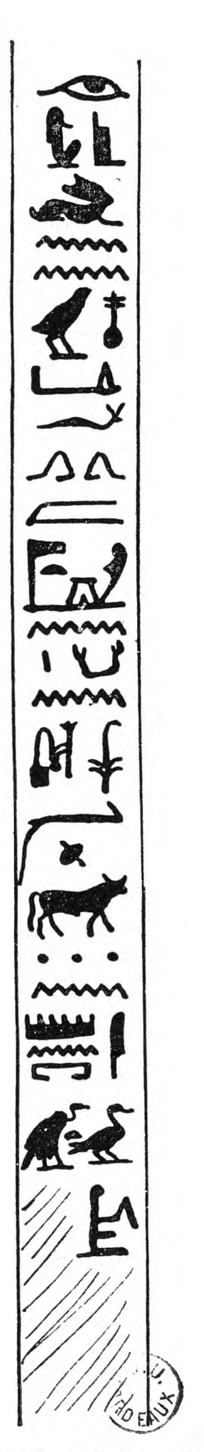
Pl. XC



90.—Wall W. The niche of statues. These are four, two men sitting in the center surrounded on each side by a woman.



91.—The inscriptions on the four statues.



92.—Ceiling inscription of the aisle of entrance.

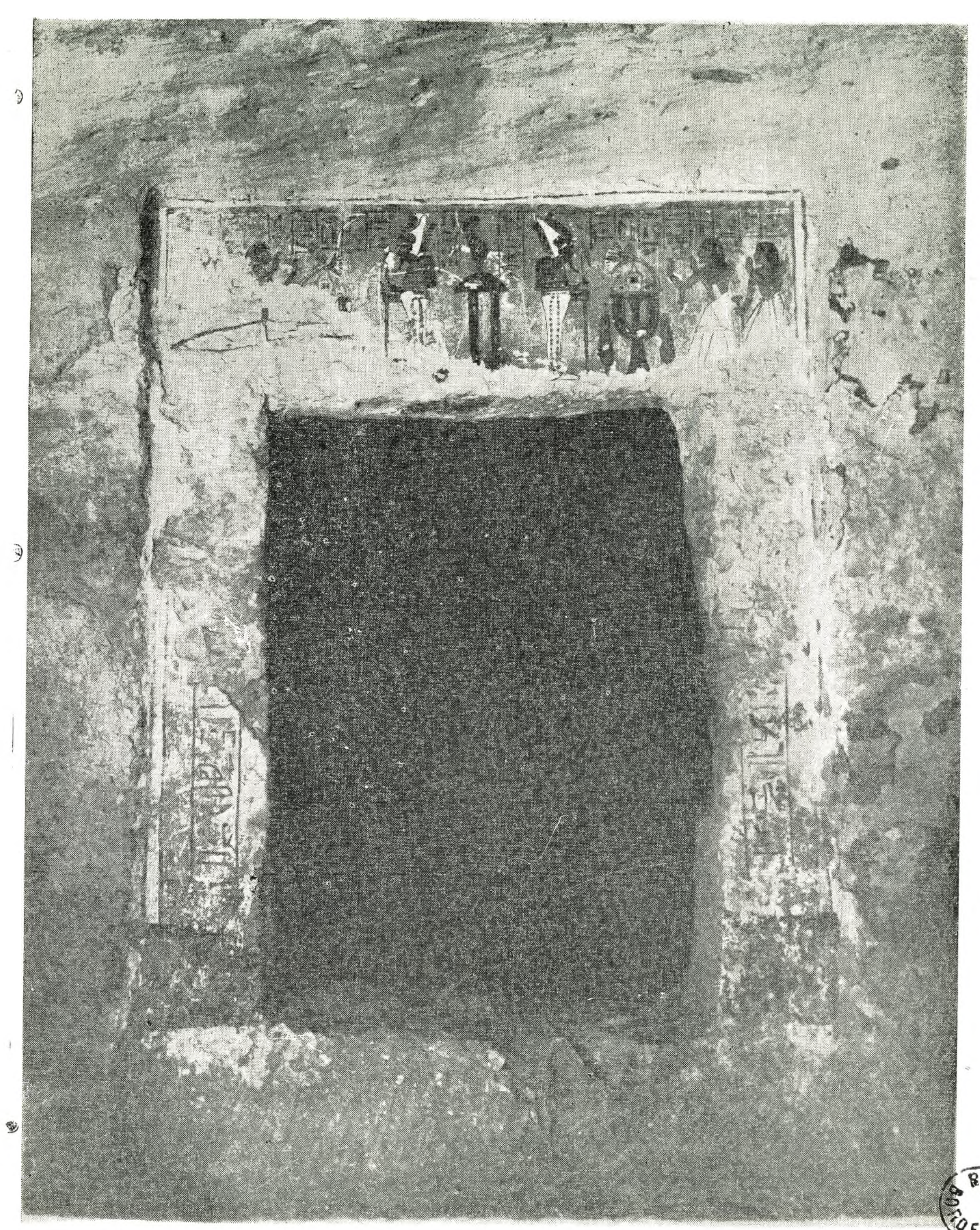


93.—The entrance, of the Tomb of Baken-Amun wall A.

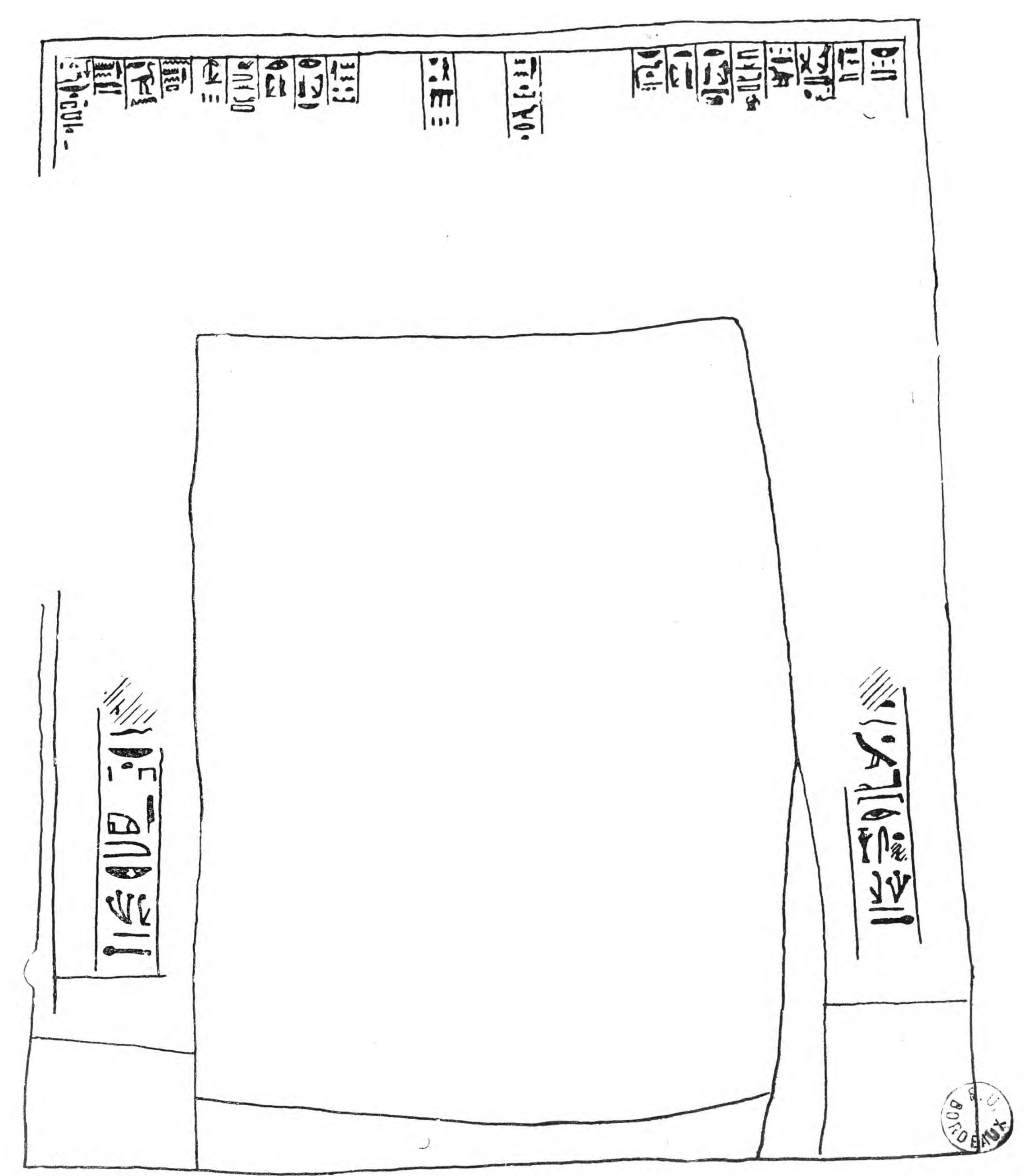
Pl. XCIV

94.—Text on lintel of wall A.

95.—Text on the two jambs of entrance.
Tomb of Baken-Amun.



96.—Doorway of second chamber, Tomb of Baken-Amun wall B.



97.—Text on wall B.



98.—Wall C. A primitive representation of a Ramesside King.



99.—The group-statue of Baken Amun, broken to pieces.

Pl. XCIX



Pl. C

100.—The head of Baken Amun and his wife and the torso, these are parts of the broken statue.



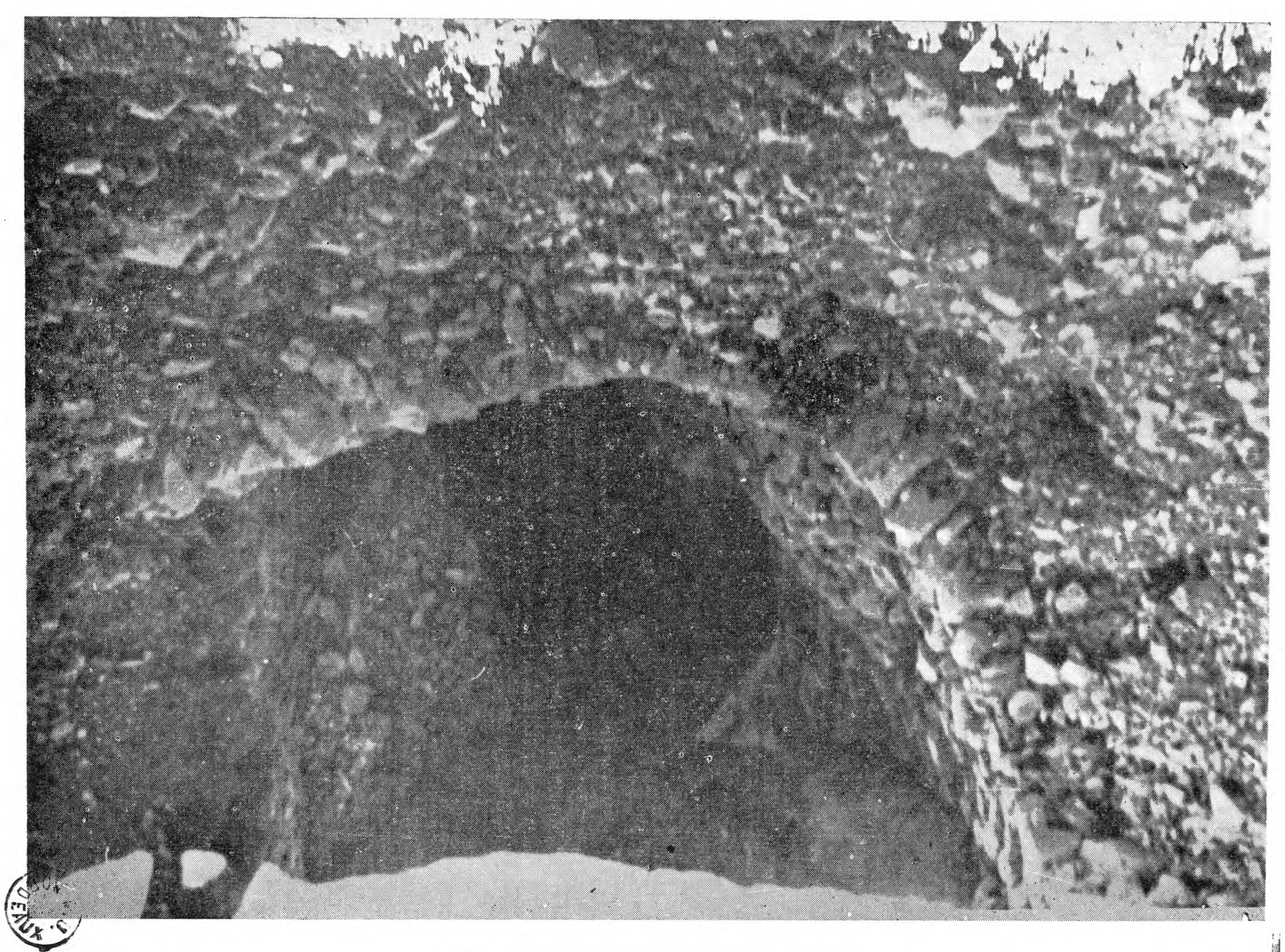
101.—A profile of the head of Baken Amun.



102.—A profile of the head of the wife of Baken Amun.

Pl. CIII

103.—The shaft found outside the tomb of Baken Amun.



104.—The shaft after its clearance.

Pl. CIV



105.—A coffin found in the debris over the shaft.



106.—The inscription on the coffin.



107.—The coffin found about 200 metres from the tomb of Kyky.

RECENT EXCAVATIONS AT ARD-EL NAAM[1] CAIRO (Part I)

by

HISHMAT MESSIHA

The excavations at Ard-el-Naʿâm started in November 1957, when a contractor was laying the foundations of the secondary school of decorative arts.

Ard-el-Naʿâm is a small part of Eîn-Shams lying 3kms. to the S. E. of the famous Mattareya[1] obelisk of the 12 th Dynasty. Excavations were conducted by the Department of Antiquities and revealed the presence of cemeteries related to different periods between the Rames-side and the Graeco - Roman.

Fig. 1 (*a*, *b*) shows roughly the sites where the excavations were carried out. In the wide school area A were found many important objects, such as an inscribed limestone sarcophagus of the Ramesside period, a fine faience canopic jar inscribed with a name, a large earthenware jar inscribed with the name of King Sy - Ptah of the 19 th Dynasty and beautiful alabaster statuettes and amulets. The aforesaid finds will be the subject of future publications.

Areas B and C were also excavated, but we found no important objects, since all the burials had been almost completely plundered. The little remains found in them indicate that the upper burials were of the Graeco-Roman period and the lower ones were of Late Egyptian date.

Area D belonged to an inhabitant[2] who intended to build a house over it. Fig. 2 shows a rough plan of the above-mentioned area in which in 1958/59 we found the following :—

On the surface (Pl. I), decayed wooden coffins containing bones of poor burials of the Graeco-Roman period (pl. II - IX). The first burial was found 75 cms. deep: the

(1) Ard-el-Naam in Arabic means " the Place of Ostriches " ; it was used as a plcae for breeding ostriches at the end of the 19th Century.

(2) Mr. Abd-el-Messieh Botros.

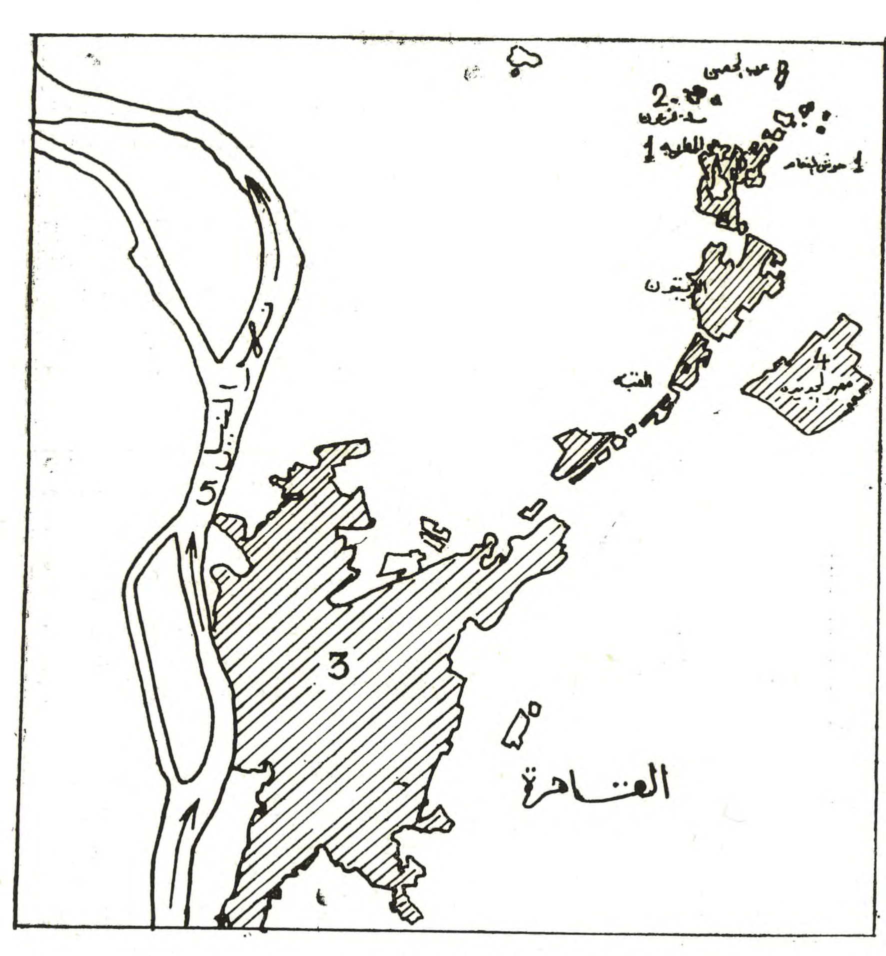
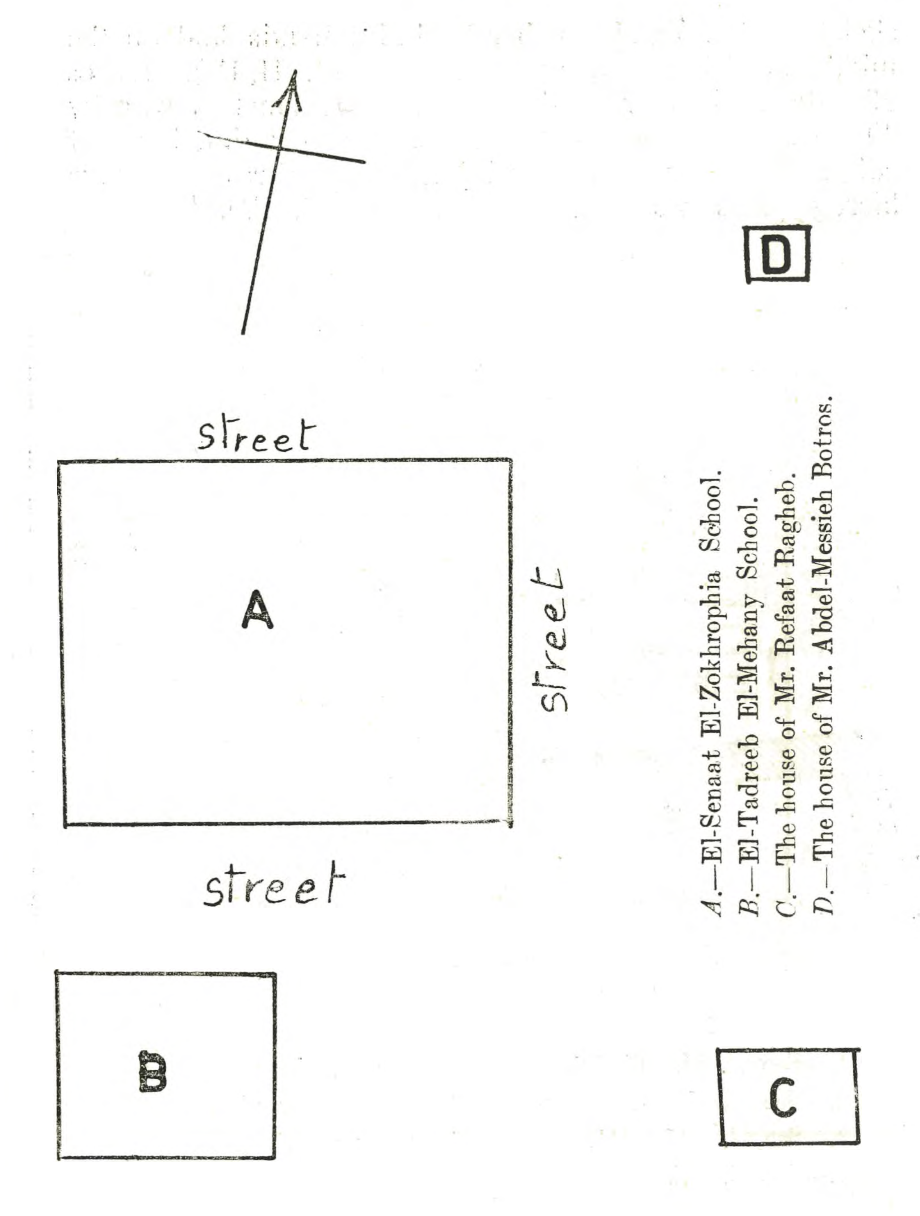


Fig. 1 (*a*)

1.—El-Mattarreya.
2.—The Obelisk of Mattarreya.
3.—Cairo.
4.—Heliopolis.
5.—The Nile.



A.—El-Senaat El-Zokhrophia School.
B.—El-Tadreeb El-Mehany School.
C.—The house of Mr. Refaat Ragheb.
D.—The house of Mr. Abdel-Messieh Botros.

Fig. 1 (*b*)

skeleton of a female on her back, her hands laid on the middle,head in the eastward direction (Pl. III, IV). Traces of a decayed anthropoid wooden coffin 2 metres long by 80 cms. wide and covered with traces of a thin layer of coloured plaster were found (Pl. III). Traces of cursive hieroglyphics are seen near the legs (Pl. IV).

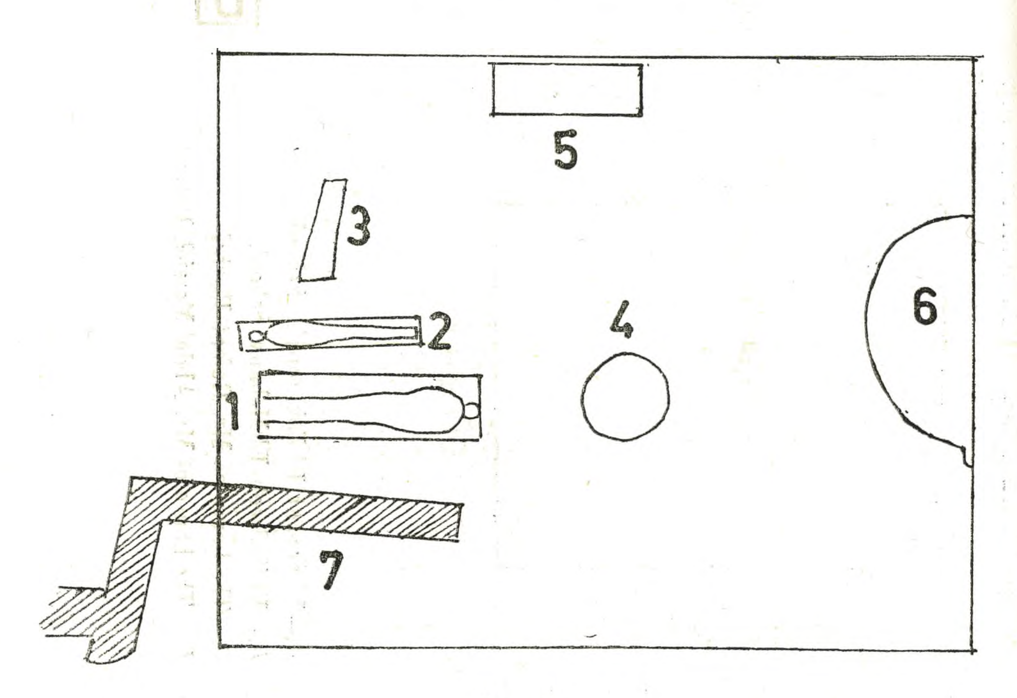


Fig. 2

1.—See pl. II, III, IV.
2.—See pl. V, VI.
3.—See pl. VII VIII.
4.—See pl. IX.
5.—See pl. X.
6.—The eastern pit.
7.—Brick wall.

The second burial was found near-by at a depth of one metre in a decayed anthropoid wooden coffin covered with plaster (Pl. V). The skeleton found is that of a female lying on her back, the hands laid on the middle on the pubic area, head eastwards. Perhaps the woman

died after removing (amputating ?) her left thigh because this skeleton was found lacking the left thigh only (Pl. VI). Two stone amulets were found, one representing the ḏd-sign, the other the goddess Sekhmet. Eastwards we found two earthenware jars in a circular pit about one metre deep and one and a half metres away from the second burial. The jars contain remains of carbonized wheat which is thought to be a kind of offering (Pl. IX).

Northwards we found a third decayed wooden coffin, not far from the second one ; it differs from the other two in being box-like ; it was lying in a rectangular pit (Pl. VII). Inside it we found a female child lying on its back, with the head southwards (Pl. VIII).

In the north side of the area[1] a shaft was found (Pl. X), its walls cased by weak pieces of limestone. The shaft is about five and a half metres deep, containing two burial-chambers. The western one was full of very recent human burials (Pl. XII) ; their furniture had been plundered and nothing was found except rare mummy beads, because the robbers had broken through the western shaft-wall (Pl. XI) and stolen all the furniture.

The eastern burial-chamber was plundered completely; even the bones were not found.

In the eastern part of the area [1] we found a destroyed pit which led to a western burial-chamber. In the heap of earth filling this burial-chamber we found a faience scarab at a depth of four metres. It bears the name *nb-mꜣʿ.t-Rʿ*[2] Mr. H. Ranke[3] tells us that *nb mꜣʿ.t-Rʿ* is a masculine name inscribed on ushabtis of the New Kingdom (Louvre ; Turin) but *nb-mꜣʿt-Rʿ-nḫt.w*[4] is a masculine name also of the New Kingdom on Papyrus Abbott (Mayer, Lansing).

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(1) Fig. 2.
(2) The Lord of Righteousness.
(3) HERMAN RANKE.—*Die aegyptischen Personennamen*, 1935, page 184 (*b*).
(4) Amenophis III is strong.

At six metres deep, twenty-six ushabtis were found together with a broken jar [1] containing some carbonized wheat (Pl. XIII). These ushabtis were inscribed after the name *Wr* ? (*Wry* ?). When Mr. H. Ranke [2] examined that name, he said that Wr-Wr (?) was a masculine name of the New Kingdom found on an ushabti in Florence.

At the bottom of the pit (Fig. 2) about six and a half metres down, a burial-chamber with traces of three human burials in a very bad state of preservation was found.

The southern burial had been smashed completely : the middle one was demolished except for the two forelegs, underneath which a greenish faience pectoral was found. The pectoral itself is in the shape of the *sꜣḥ*-sign and flanked by a very thin sheet of gold. The figure of Anubis is carved on it. The northern burial, with the body on its back and placed 50 cms. higher than the level of the ground, with that head eastwards and the hands on the two sides, had its coffin completely decayed and the bones somewhat burnt. Thirty cms. from the feet of the last deceased, we found three pots. They had been put in a niche beside a small limestone block (Pl. XV).

The largest pot (height 66 cms., extremest diameter 26 cms.) is an earthenware jar broken at the neck, without any inscription. The other two pots are made of alabaster (Pl. XV).

The first alabaster pot (height 30 cms., diameter 17½ cms.), is cylindrical in shape, with a convex bottom, without a base . The mouth is broken and mended at the top, where it lacks a small piece (Pl. XV, XVI). Its most striking feature is the inscription in hieroglyphs in the name of Ramesses II (19th Dynasty) :

(a) *Nb tꜣwy* (*wsr mꜣʿ.t - Rʿ stp n Rʿ*). The Lord of the Two Lands (Great is the Justice of (god) Rēʿ, the chosen one by (god) Rēʿ)

(1) Dimensions, 68 cms. high, extremest diameter 30 cms., mouth. Diameter 12 cms.

(2) *See* footnote 4.

(b) *Nb ḫʿw* (*Rʿ mss-mry Imn.*) The Lord of manifestations. (The one born of Rēʿ-The one beloved by (god) Amun) (see Fig. 3)



Fig. 3

The second alabaster pot, with a wide mouth (beight 27 cms., diameter 21 cms.) with a long neck and two looped handles, has a rounded base and is also inscribed with the name of Ramesses II in two cartouches as follows :—

(a) *Nsw-bity* (*Wsr mꜣʿ.t - Rʿ stp n Rʿ*) *di ʿnḫ ṯt-* [1] The King of Upper and Lower Egypt (the Great Justice of (god) Rēʿ, the one chosen by Rēʿ) may life be given (to his) body (?)

(b) *Sꜣ - Rʿ* (*Rʿ - mss mry Imn*). The Son of Rēʿ............etc. (see Fig. 4).

(1) ṯt = ḏt .



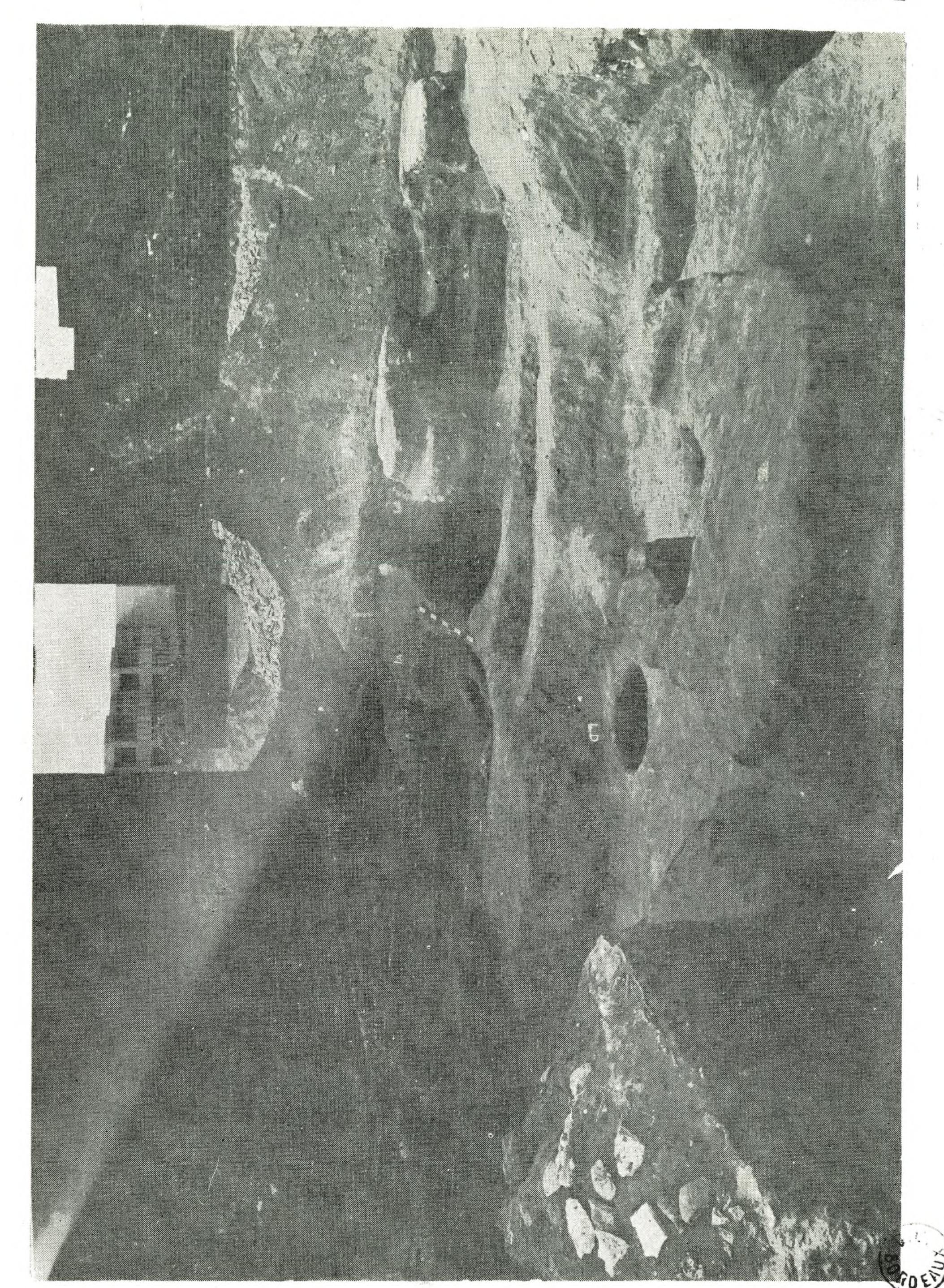
Fig. 4

From the inscriptions, one might deduce that these two pots [1] belonged to Ramesses II, but perhaps they belonged to a person of high rank whose name (?) was inscribed in ink, because there is a faint trace of black ink upon the second pot.

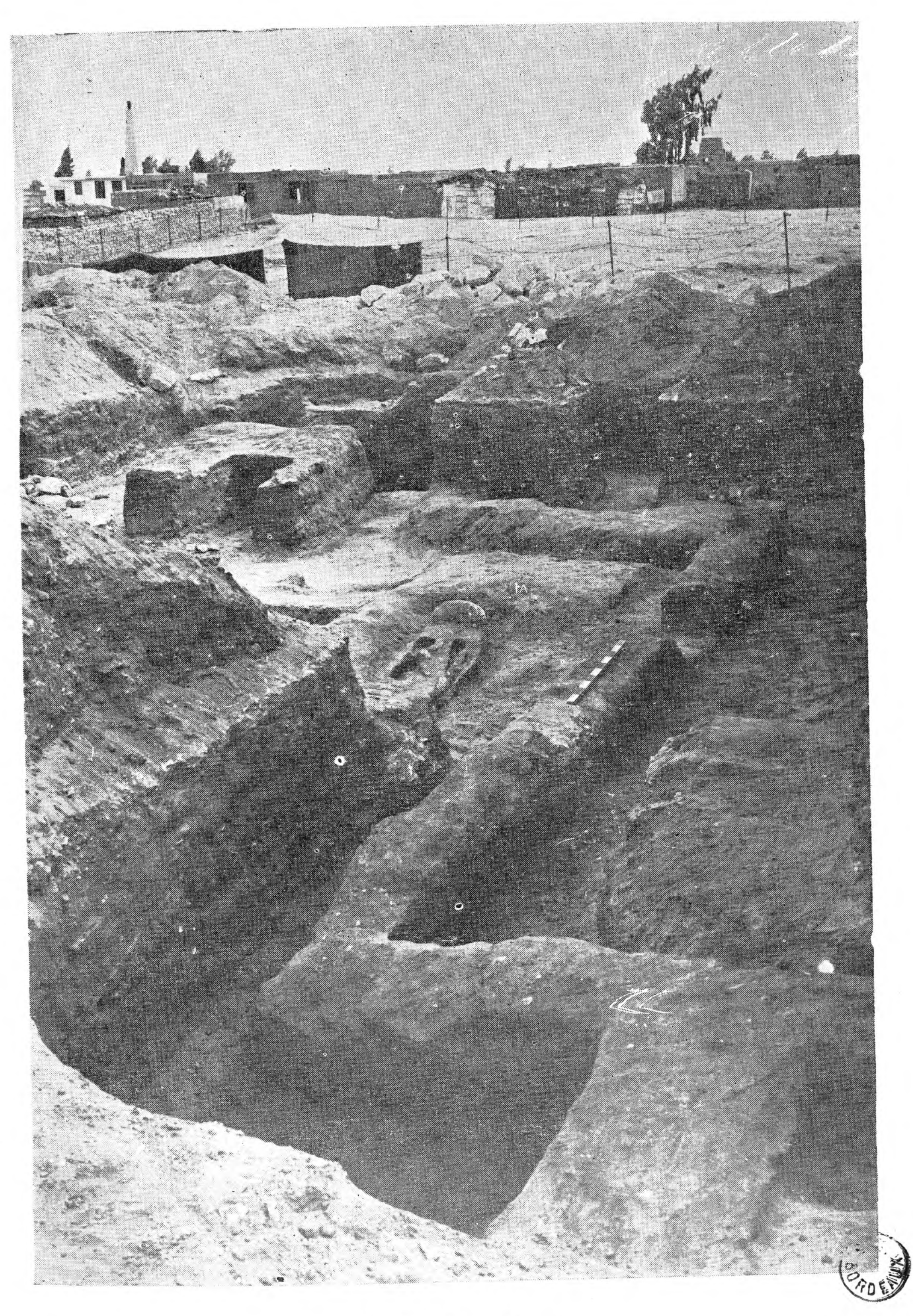
Note : I wish to thank both Dr. Z. Iskander and Dr. H.S.K. Bakry for their help in revising the article as well as Mr. Mohyi-el-Din Abd-el-Latif, who helped me for some days at the beginning of the excavations and others who helped me to publish this article.

Hishmat Messiha

(1) Dr. Zaki Iskander has examined the substance found inside, and an article has been printed concerning it, *see* Annales du Service des Antiquités, Tome LVIII, 1964, pp. 197-208.



A general view of the house. (The Secondary School is seen behind)

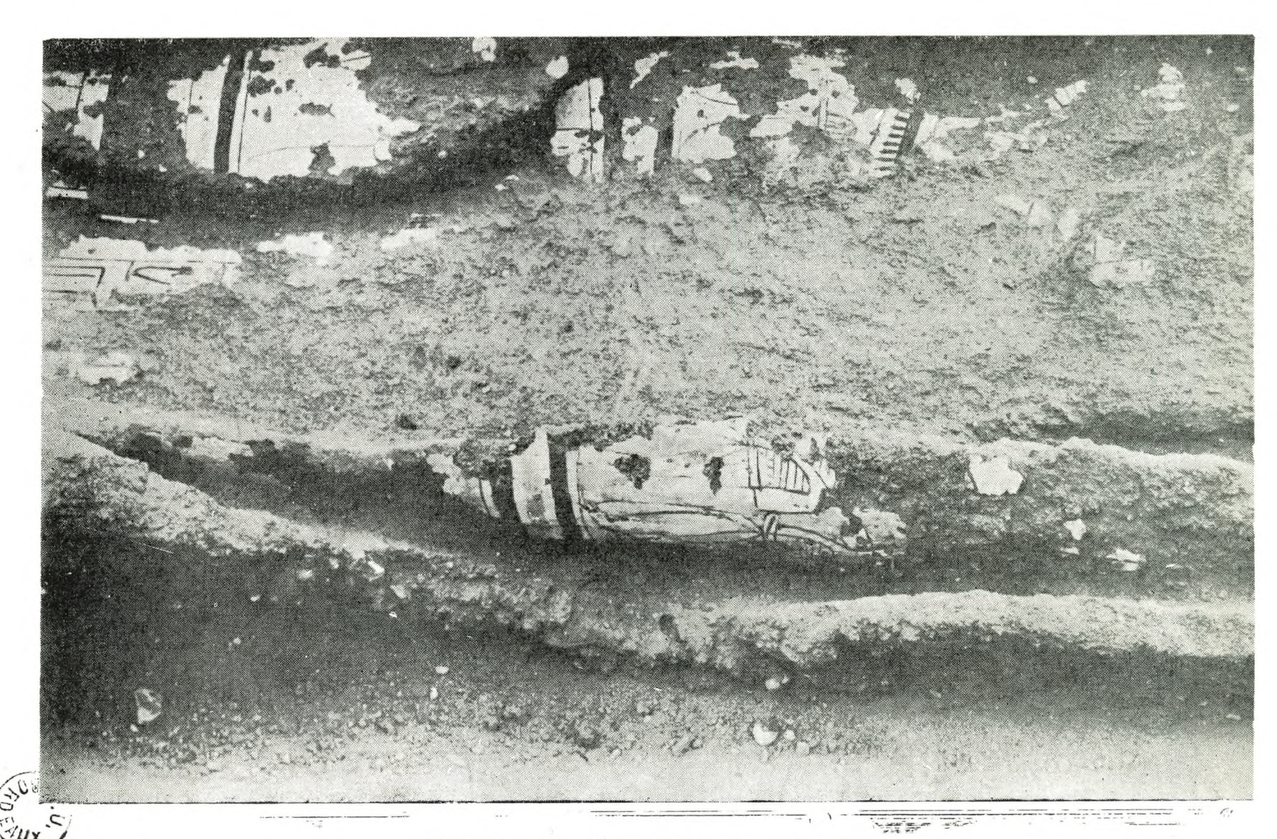


The first Sarcophagus



The first sarcophagus

Pl. IV

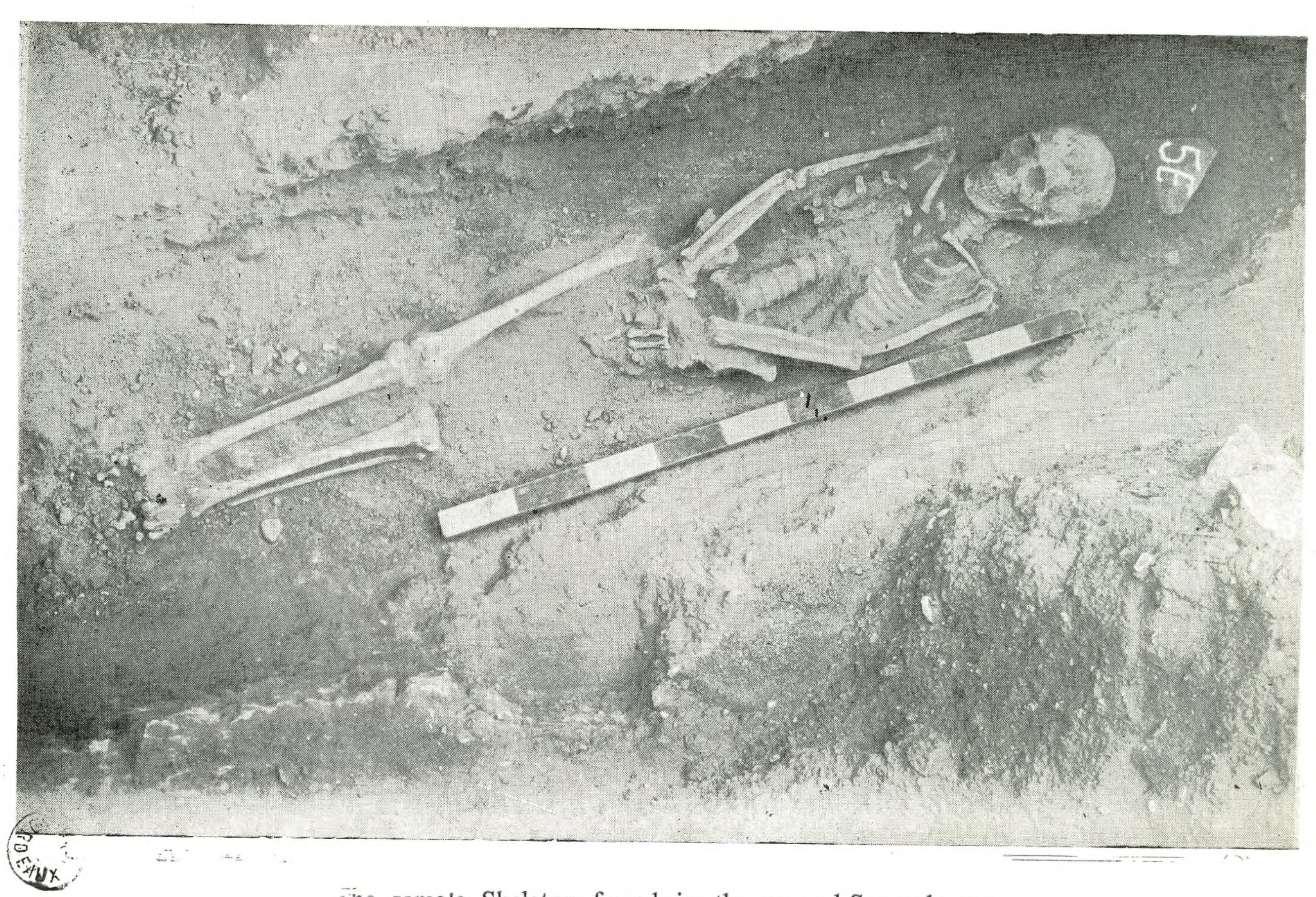


Middle part of the first sarcophagus



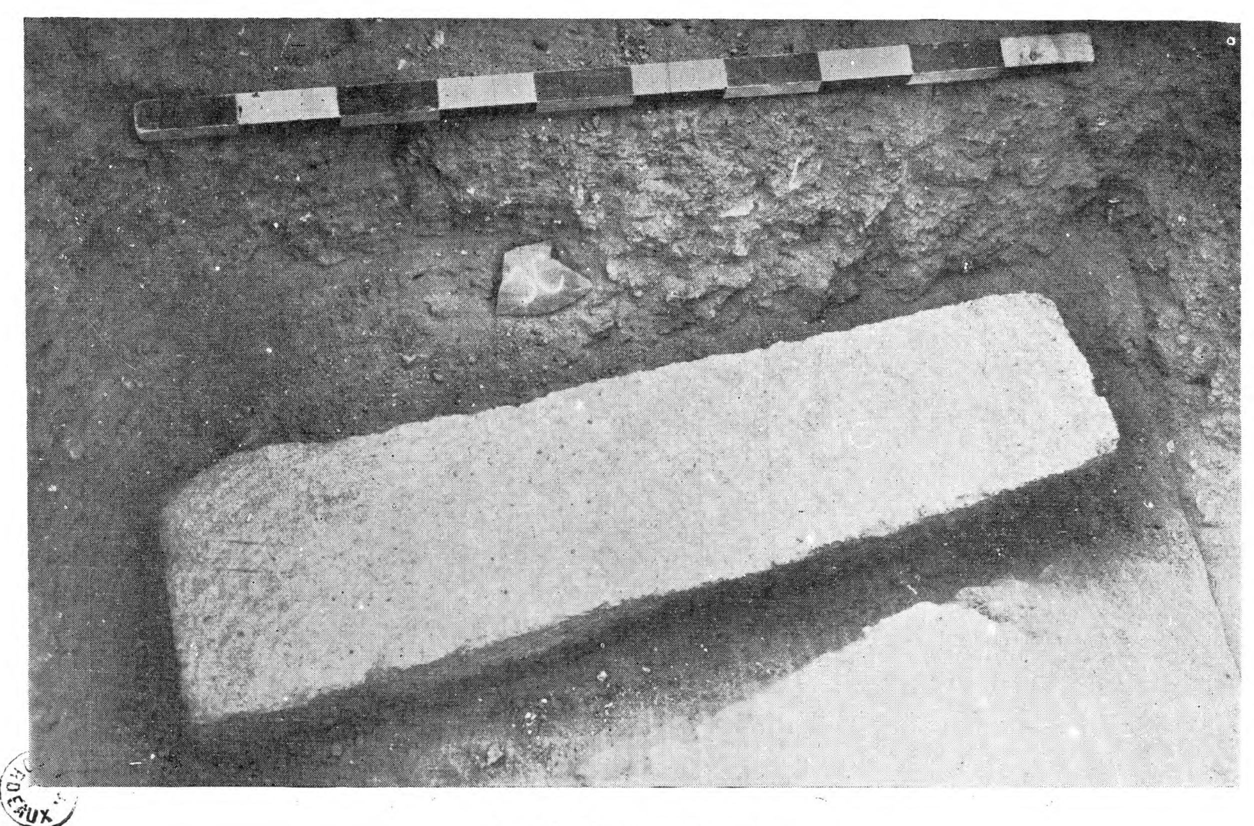
The second Sarcophagus

Pl. V



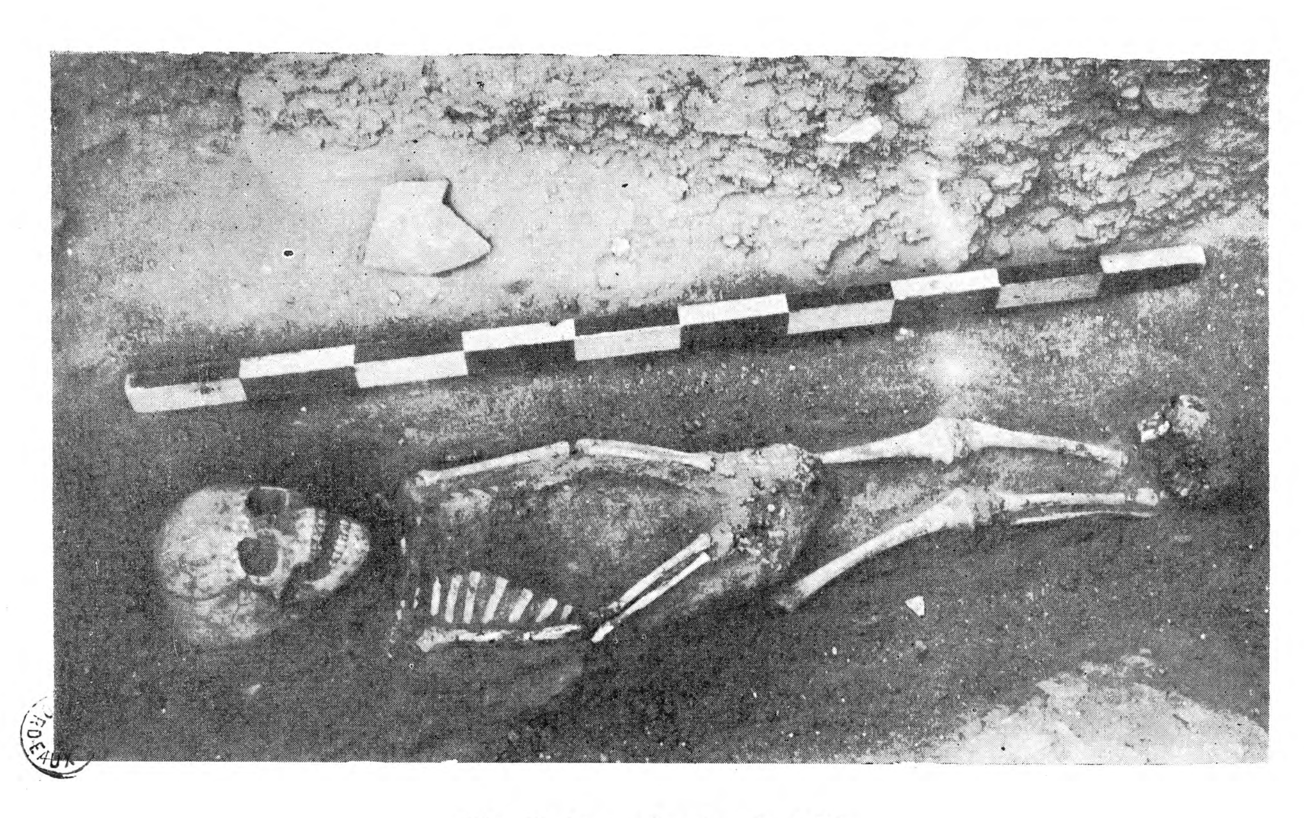
The female Skeleton found in the second Sarcophagus

Pl. VI



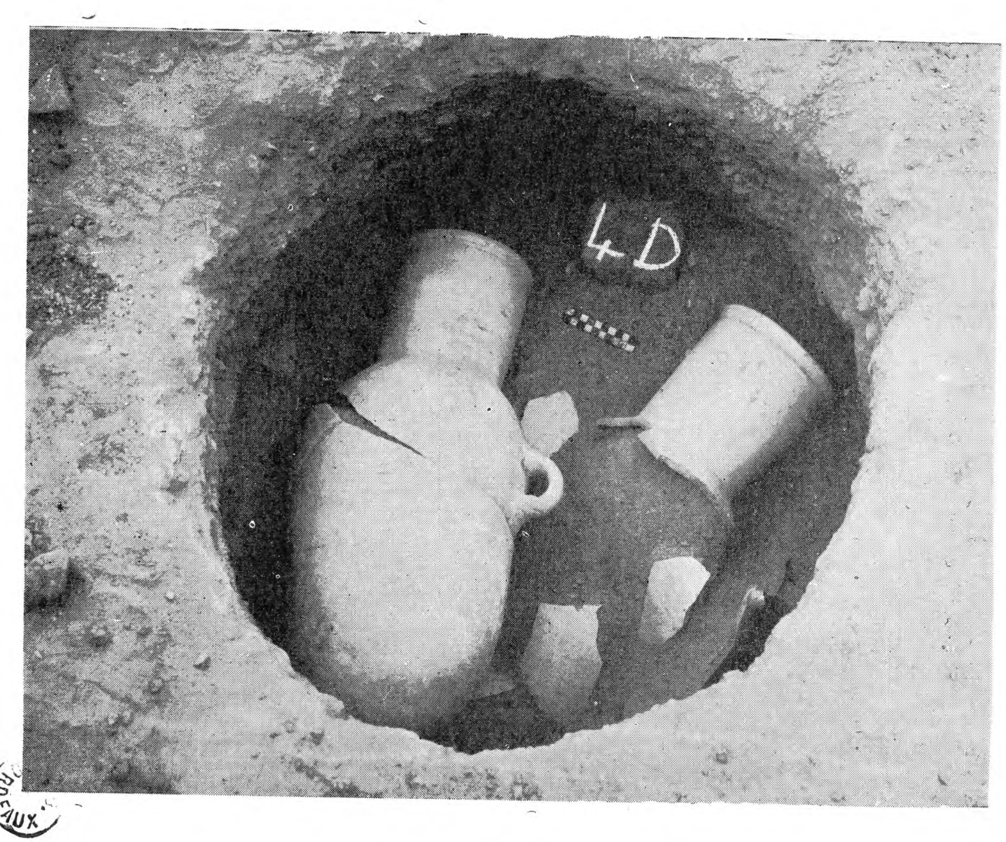
The third Sacrcophagus

PL. VII

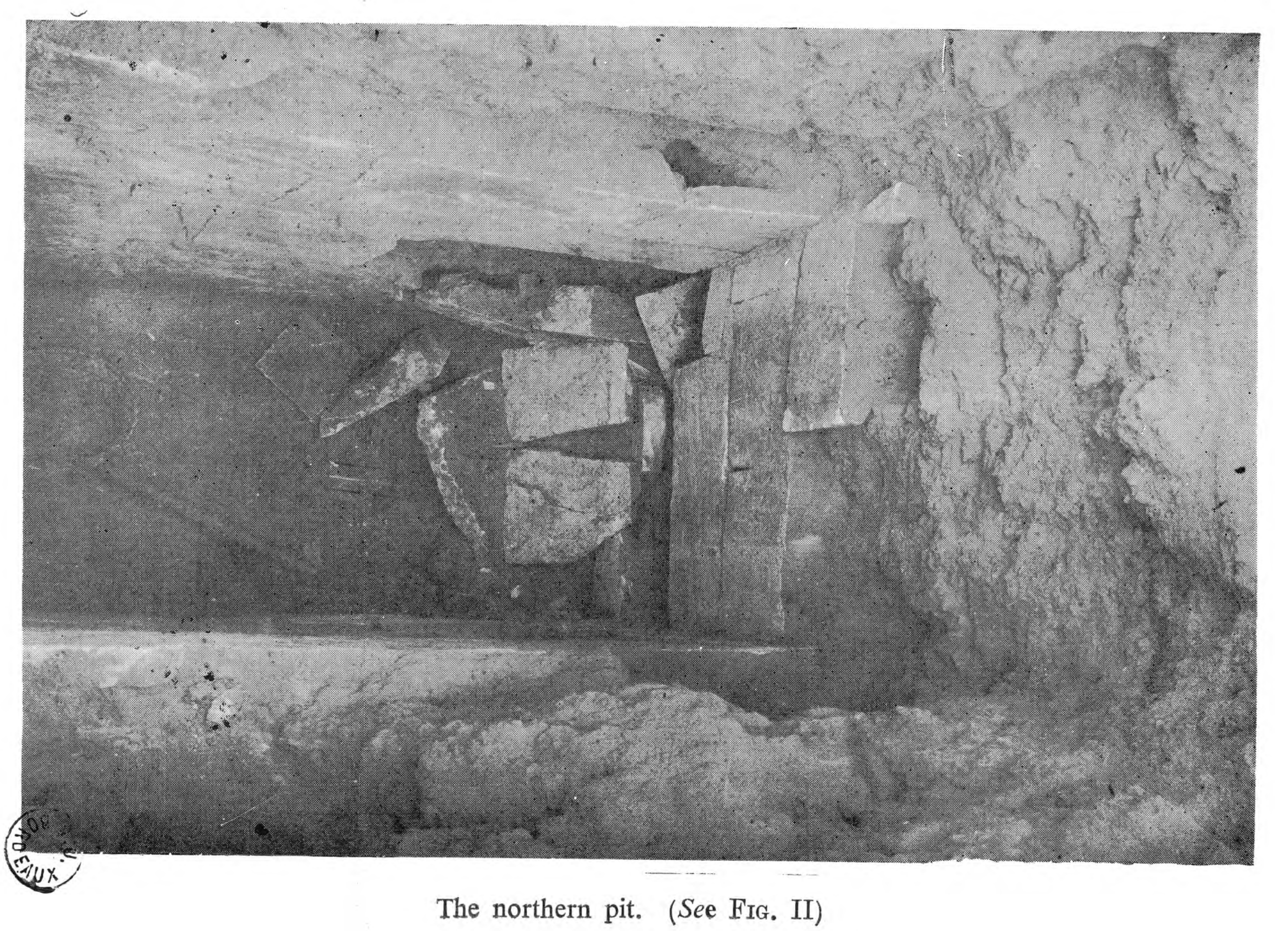


The Skeleton of a female child

Pl. VIII

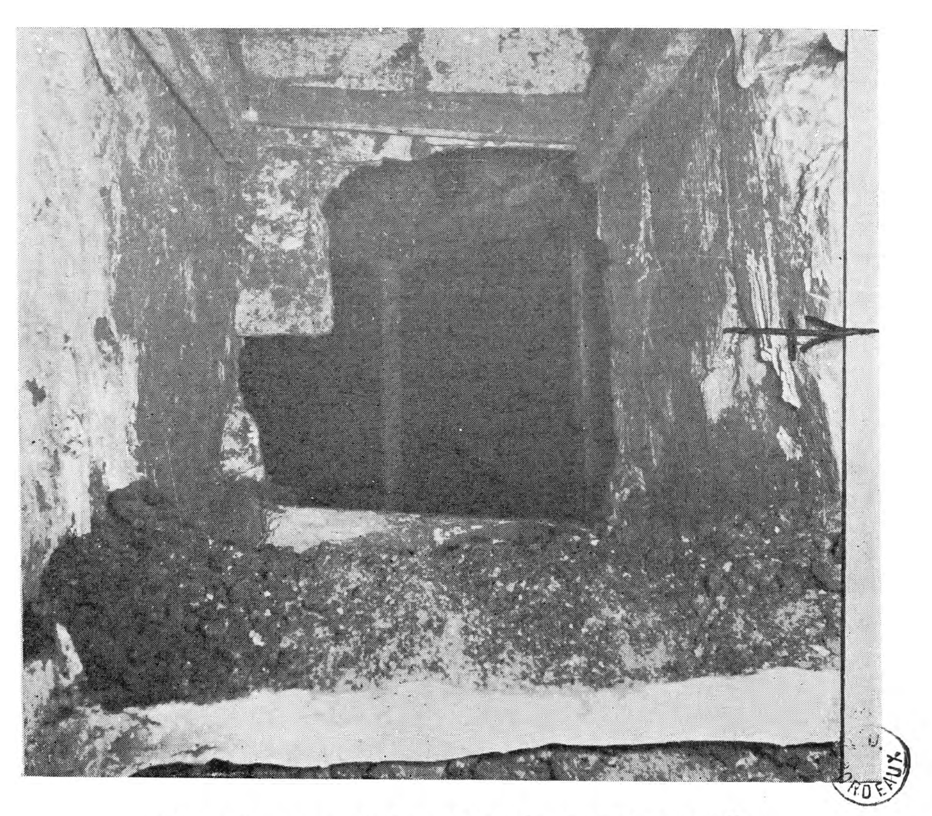


Two broken jars found in a surface pit (*see* Fig. II)

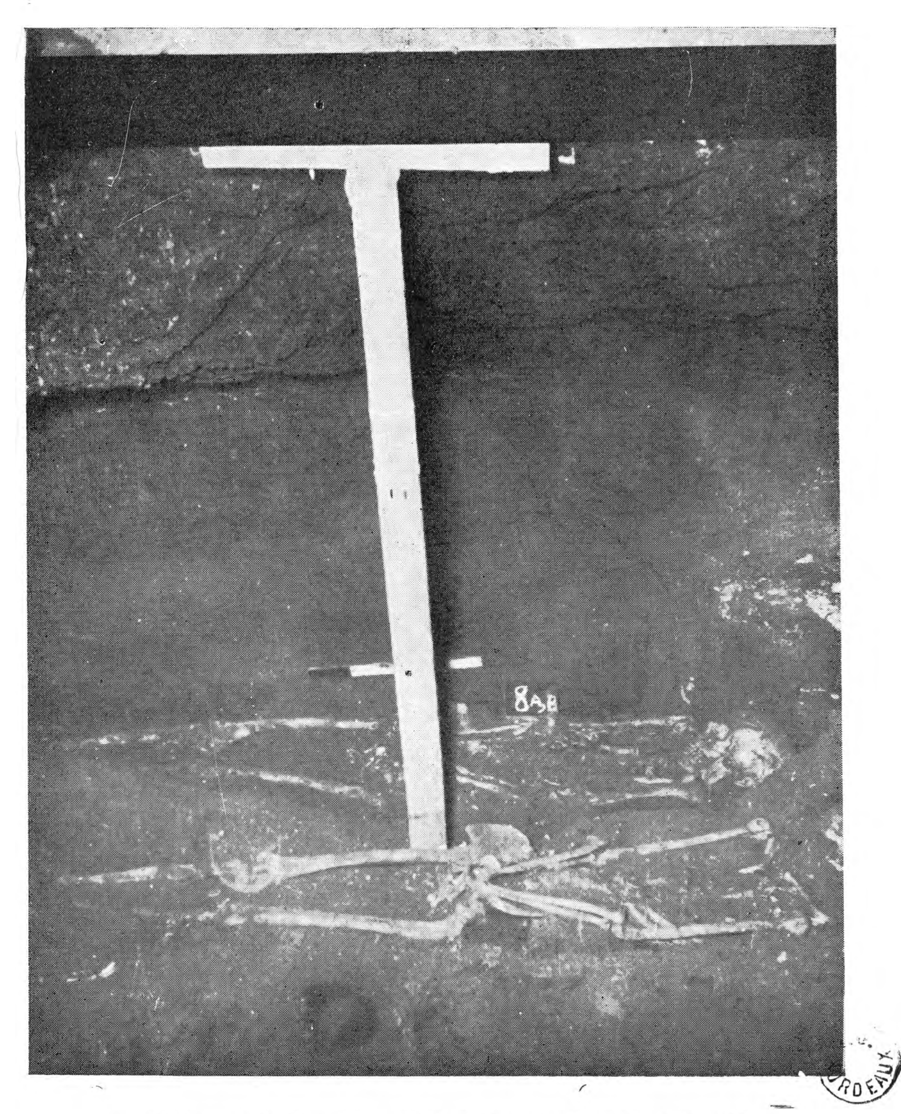


The northern pit. (*See* FIG. II)

Pl. X



The entrance made by robbers in the western wall of the rothern pit.



Skeletons in the western burial Chamber (north pit)

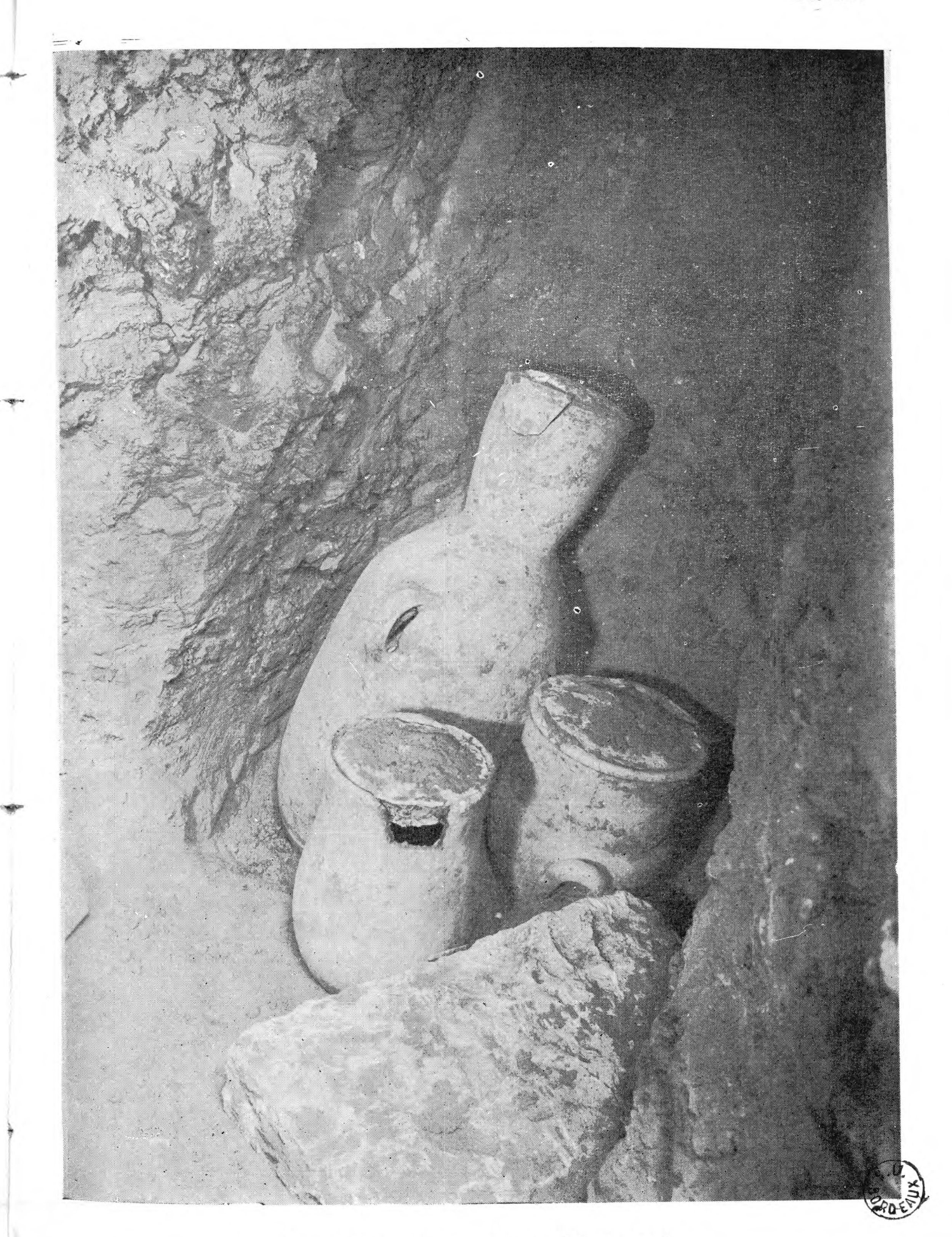
Pl. XIII



The eastern pit, 26 Ushabtis and an earthern ware jar are Seen.

Pl. XIV

The body of Wr. (?) in the eastern pit.



An earthenware jar and two alabaster pots

Pl. XVI



The two alabaster pots.

COMPTE-RENDU DE L'EXAMEN ANTHROPOLOGIQUE DES OSSEMENTS HUMAINS TROUVÉS DANS LES NECROPOLES ARABES DE KOM EL-DIK A ALEXANDRIE, 1963.

par

TADEUSZ DZIERZYKRAY-ROGALSKI

Rapport Préliminaire

La colline de Kom el Dik à Alexandrie se trouve en plein centre de la ville moderne. Au XIX siècle, durant les guerres napoléoniennes, un fort y fut élevé dont les res tes furent récemment démantelés. En 1960, étant donné le projet d'y construire, le Service des Antiquités du Caire proposa au Professeur K. Michalowski, Directeur du Centre Polonais d'Archéologie Méditerranéenne au Caire, de faire sur ce terrain des travaux de sondages. Etant donné que les études archéologiques polonaises s'étaient portées sur Alexandrie depuis 1958, la proposition fut acceptée, et le Professeur Michalowski désigna une équipe qui commença son travail vers la fin de 1960. Dépuis, les fouilles ont été ininterrompues. Du côté égyptien, elles sont surveillées par M. Henri Riad, Directeur du Musée Greco-Romain.

Les sondages du Centre Polonais d'Archéologie, sous la direction du Professeur K. Michalowski, de 1960 à 1963, ont permis de mettre à jour une série de vestiges archéologiques parmi lesquelles d'importants bains romains. Les travaux sont encore en cours, mais on peut d'ores et déjà affirmer que c'est une des découvertes les plus grandes faites à Alexandrie au cours des récentes années.

Les fouilles polonaises ont aussi mis à jour deux vastes nécropoles arabes.

Récemment, quelques sondages profonds ont été éffectués sur le terrain de Kom el Dik. Le plus grand a reuni les sondages A, C et D en un seul, révélant justement les bains mentionnés ci-dessus. Aux alentour sont les sondages B et E ainsi que F et G commencés en 1963 (v. dessin sur le plan annexe).

Le matériel le plus intéressant a été tiré jusqu'à present du sondage A (maintenant A, C et D). M.L. Dabrowski, architect du Centre Polonais d'Archéologie, y a relevé minitieusement les deux nécropoles qui se différencient tant par le caractère des tombes que par la manière dont les morts sont ensevelis.

Dans le sondage A, de + 10.00m. à 11. 65m.. quelques dizaines de tombes ont été découvertes, faites d'une seule couche de blocs calcaires (22×40×38cms. environ) sans aucun mortier ni enduit. Etroite, une dalle calcaire (60× 35×10 cms. environ) les recouvrait. L'orientation de ces tombes était selon une axe longitudinale NEE-OOS (azimuth 245°), avec de très petites variantes. En certains endroits, les tombes se trouvaient contre des parois de constructions plus anciennes (par exemple des murs, des restes de fours à chaux, etc.) ce qui prouve que la nécropole se trouvait sur un terrain couvert de ruines. Toutes les données ainsi que les mesures des tombes sont dues à L. Dabrowski.

Dans ces tombeaux, partiellement endommagés par la pression des couches supérieures de débris et de terre constituant la colline, on a trouvé des restes humains en divers états de conservation. De par ceux-ci, il a été possible de déduire que les morts reposaient sur le côté droit, les jambes légèrement fléchies, la tête au OOS et le visage tourné vers le SE. Il n'y avait aucun objet à côté du mort.

Durant la première phase des fouilles, à part la nécropole inférieure, à 1 ou 2m. à l'intérieur de la colline (+12,00 à + 13,90 au dessus du niveau de la mer, on a trouvé une couche de sépultures appelée par la suite la nécropole supérieure (deuxième). Elles se trouvaient sur une couche de débris et de gravats qui séparait les deux nécropoles. Ces tombes-ci, vastes et revétues d'un enduit intérieur parfois extérieur aussi) étaient faites de petits blocs calcaires (plus petits que ceux utilisés dans la nécropole inférieure). Les moindres étaient couvertes à plat; les plus grandes étaient fermées de dalles posées de biais et qui s'étayaient l'une

* Dues sans doute à l'orientation de la terre par rapport au soleil qui varie d'après les saisons.

l'autre, comme un toit. Même orientation des tombes, c'est à dire 00S-EEN. Contenu : des ossements humains. Comme ces tombeaux furent longtemps soumis à l'action de l'humidité, même les squelettes entiers se désagrégeaient lors des tentatives d'exhumation et ce, malgré toutes les précautions prises. La position des corps était semblable à celle décrite plus haut. Dans une tombe, quelques os d'animaux couverts d'inscriptions arabes furent trouvés (données L. Dabrowski).

D'après l'estimation préliminaire basée sur l'étude de W. Kubiak des fragments de stèles funéraires, de céramiques et des inscriptions sur les os d'animaux, les deux nécropoles seraient arabes. L'inférieure daterait des IX-X siècles. La deuxième fut un lieu de sépulture du XII au XIII siècles,

La découverte des deux grandes nécropoles arabes par la Mission Archéologique Polonaise a une importance profonde pour l'histoire de la culture arabe en ce lieu. Par conséquent, le Centre Archéologique Polonais du Caire a fait faire l'analyse anthropologico-medicale des ossements provenant de Kom el Dikk. Cet examen a été commencé en Mars 1962, étudiant aussi bien les ossements découverts lors des fouilles, dans le terrain, que ceux retirés des tombes ou existant au Musée Greco-Romain, car tous les restes humains retrouvés à Kom el Dikk furent entreposés au Musée après enregistrement.

L'analyse préliminaire effectuée en 1962 permit d'ores et déjà d'affirmer l'origine arabe de cette population. Nous pûmes aussi affirmer que dans la nécropole supérieure nous avions affaire à des tombes collectives.

Un examen plus détaillé des ossements fut pratiqué en Avril 1963, lors de l'ouverture de la section anthropologique près le Centre Polonais d'Archéologie Mediterranéenne au Caire. L'objet en fut tant les vestiges humains entreposés au Musée que toute une série d'observations faites au cours du sondage. Fig. I-V.

Le matériel du Musée était placé dans des sacs, idoines. Trois furent examinés en 1962 et en 1963. Il faut cependant signaler qu'en 1962 il y avait encore

16 autres sacs avec des ossements provenant du sondage A, qui furent remis à l'Université d'Alexandrie. Ces 78 sacs constituent le matériel intégral provenant des nécropoles de Kom el Dik et il faut avoir les données complètes resultant de l'examen extensif avant de tirer des conclusions.

Soulignons que l'état de conservation de tout ce matériel est très mauvais. Dans nombre de sacs on ne trouvait que quelques débris ramassés dans et autour des tombes détruites. Il n'y a eu que peu de crânes en bon état. Généralement, c'étaient des fragments impossibles à mesurer régulièrement. Néanmoins, nous avons presque toujours réussi à déterminer approximativement l'âge et le sexe des squelettes. Certaines mesures et caractères descriptifs permettent aussi une classification par catégorie et par race. Nous avons aussi des observations médicales qui peuvent, dans une certaine mesure, nous éclairer quant aux causes de décès et aux maladies dont souffraient cette population. Les conclusions les plus intéressantes, cependant, sont celles qui touchent à l'âge et au sexe. Elles fournissent des données uniques sur la paleodémographie Arabe, étayées par un matériel concret.

Dans ce rapport provisoire, il nous faut nécessairement nous borner aux informations préliminaires sur ce sujet.

Le Ier tableau est établi selon les données du sondage A, Nécropole Inférieure.

De ce premier tableau il ressort que, sur le matériel de la nécropole inférieure examiné jusqu'ici, nous avons 18 personnes : 6 hommes, 8 femmes et 4 enfants. D'après l'estimation de leur âge, on peut conclure qu'un homme vivait en moyenne 38 ans et une femme 32. Des 4 enfants, 2 sont morts peu après leur naissance, et les deux autres vers 8-9 et 10-12 ans. Il ressort aussi que dans cette nécropole les corps étaient ensevelis individuellement. La tombe No. 15 est une exception, ainsi que la tombe No. 1 qui contient indubitablement deux squelettes.

Le matériel provenant de la nécropole supérieure est tout à fait différente, comme le montre le tableau No. II.

TABLEAU I.—**Nécropole Inférieure. Sondage A. (Kom el Dik, Alexandrie)**

No. d'ordre	Indicatif du tombeau.	Longueur intérieure	Largeur intérieure	Hauteur intérieure	Niveau	Débris humains, âge, sexe
1	T. 21 et T 23	—	33	36	+ 11·00	8–9 ans, nouveau-né ou nourrisson.
2	T. 21 (*a*)	—	—	—	—	M env. 18 ans.
3	T. 22	165	27–33	34	+ 11.00	F 20-25 ans(?)
4	T. 23	—	25-30	—	+ 11.20	Os avec T. 21
5	T. 57	165	37	33	+ 11·05	F 18–20 ans
6	T. 58	—	30	32	+ 10·90	M adulte.
7	T. 59	—	35	40	+ 10·90	M 50-60 ou davantage.
8	T. 61	—	30-33	40	+ 10·95	F env. 30-35 ans.
9	T. 63	—	27-35	40	+ 11·00	F adulte (?).
10	T. 66	171	27-30	34	+ 11·55	F 35-45 ans.
11	T. 67	—	—	—	—	F 40-45 ans (??)
12	T. 68	—	—	—	+ 10·10	M env. 30–40 ans
13	Ossements près d'un four (four plus bas que la nécropole au-dessus		sans parois		—	I 10-12 ans
14	„ „ „ „ „ „					F 16–18 (?).
15	Sondage A (qualifié comme Nécropole Inférieure)					M 60–65 ou davantage.
16	Ossements trouvés près d'un petit mur à l'ouest du four mélangés à d'autres.				—	F (?) 60–65 ans,
17	„ „				—	M (?) 18–20 ans.

Note M = homme F = femme I = enfant (toutes les mesures sont de tombeause dues à L. Dabrowski).

TABLEAU II.—**Nécropole Supérieure-Sondage A (Kom el Dik, Alexandrie)**

No. d'ordre	Indicatif du tombeau	Longueur intérieure	Largeur intérieure	Hauteur intérieure	Niveau	Type-de tombeau	Débris humains, âge, sexe
1	T. 5	—	43	40	+ 13,50	Rectangulaire	M 20-30 ans
2	T. 15	—	50	—	—	”	F (?) 30-35 ans
3	T. 17	214	81	60	+ 12,30	En toit	M (?) env. 40 ans M (???) adulte
4	T. 17 et T. 18 Ossements entre les tombes.	—	—	—	—	—	F env. 20 ans M (?) 60-70 ans M (???) 30-40 ans ? I 8-10 ans
5	T. 18	—	49	53	+ 12.80	Rectangulaire	M 40-50 ans I 8-9 ans
6	T. 19	—	29	43	+ 13,00	”	F adulte M adulte NN adulte
7	T. 41	216	90	—	+ 12.46	En toit	M 50-55 ans
8	T. 42	—	31	53	+ 12,00	Rectangulaire	F adulte
9	T. 43	—	—	—	—	”	M 35-40 ans
10	T. 46	—	—	—	+ 12,18	—	F 25-35 ans ?
11	T. 47	—	58	49	—	En toit	F 15-18 ans
12	T. 50	—	—	—	—	—	M adulte
13	T. 51	225	66	—	—	En toit	M (?) 25-35 ans
14	T 55 (?)	—	—	—	—	—	M adulte
15	T. 71	—	60	70	+ 12,45	—	F 18-24 (?) ans M 30-35 ans M 30-38 ans
16	T. 72	—	—	—	—	—	F env. 20-25 ans M env. 30-35 ans M adulte
17	T. 72 (a)	—					F 16-18 ans (?) I 1,5-2 ans
18	Nécropole. Sup.	—	(étendue)				M adulte F adulte
19	Nécropole. Sup.	—					I env. 9-10 ans F env. 20-24 ans F??) env. 40 M 40-45 (?)
20	Nécropole. Sup.		(étendue)				F env. 16 ans M 45-55 ans M 50-55 ans M (?)50-60 ans
21	Nécropole. Sup.		(ossements entre les tombes)				F 15-17 ans M (?) adulte
22	Sondage A		(étendue ouest)		Nécropole Sup. ?		M 40-45 ans
23	Sondage A		(près du mur sud)		Nécropole Sup. ?		M 60 ans
24	Prolongement Sondage A				Nécropole Sup. ?		I 13-15 (?)

Dès le premier coup d'oeil, on peut voir que dans la nécropole supérieure nous avons à faire à des tombes collectives. Le matériel est d'ailleurs assez fourni (44 personnes : 24 hommes, 14 femmes et 5 enfants avec une personne non identifiable) Les enfants sont morts en moyenne à 8.5 ans. Le tableau III résume la longévité comparée des populations des 2 nécropoles.

TABLEAU III.—**Moyenne de longévité des populations des Mécropoles arabes de Kom el Dika Alexandrie**

	M		F		I		NN	
	n	moyenne	n	moyenne	n	moyenne	n	moyenne
Nécropole Inférieure . . .	6	38·0	8	32·2	4	4·8	—	—
Nécropole Supérieure . . .	24	43·0	14	23.0	5	8·5	1	—

Note.—Les nombres ne comprennent pas les individus simplement définis comme " adultes ".

Le tableau III fournit des informations interessantes. La première chose qui saute aux yeux est l'énorme différence dans la moyenne de la vie des femmes. Elle témoigne d'une déterioration nette des conditions d'hygiène et des conditions économiques de la population en question. En effet, la mortalité des jeunes femmes coincide avec leur pleine activité sexuelle et indique par conséquent une vulnérabilité interne dans la période des couches. Ceci mérite d'autant plus d'attention que dans le même temps la longévité masculine est accrue.

Ce phénomène est connu ailleurs, et par là la population de la nécropole supérieure se rapproche de l'ancienne population berbère de l'oasis de Siwa où la moyenne de vie masculine est de 42,5 à 43,2 ans tandis que pour les femmes ce chiffre est respectivement de 21,7 à 23,5 ans.

Si le rapport des nombres d'hommes et de femmes dans la nécropole inférieure est assez normal, il devient assez étrange dans la nécropole supérieure où les décès

masculins sont presque le double des décès féminins. Or, d'après le matériel comparatif, ce rapport devrait plutôt être inversé. Il est vrai que le nombre de squelettes est trop petit pour permettre des généralisations qui risqueraient d'être érronnées ; toutefois le phénomène peut se rattacher à la question suivante : celle des tombes collectives. Dans près de la moitié des sépultures de la nécropole supérieure, on a trouvé réunis plusieurs squelettes de sexe et d'âge divers. Souvent, des adultes et des enfants étaient ensevelis ensemble. Au début, nous avons supposé qu'il s'agissait d'ossements d'époques diverses accidentellement mélangés, d'autant plus que cette nécropole a été longuement utilisée. Les tombes pouvaient donc avoir été creusées sur l'emplacement de tombes plus anciennes. Pourtant, l'examen direct des ossements in situ sur le terrain du sondage A l'an dernier et des sondages F et G cette année, a prouvé absolument qu'on était en présence de sépultures collectives, destinées à abriter plus d'un mort simultanément.

Il est exclu qu'il s'agisse de tombeaux de famille, parce que cet usage est étanger aux coutumes arabes (où le mort est enterré sans cercueil et la tombe refermée complètement). Il est aussi prouvé que la même tombe contenait des personnes mortes en même temps. Ceci pourrait signifier une épidémie dont les ravages s'exercèrent plutôt parmi les hommes que parmi les femmes et les enfants. (Peut-être à cause de leur plus grande mobilité et plus grande possibilité de contacts extérieurs). Il serait plus logique de conclure plutôt à un fléau de genre militaire, guerre ou combat. Pourtant, ceci semblerait contredit par la présence de femmes et de jeunes enfants dans ces tombeaux communs.

Tous ces problèmes ne seront résolus que lorsque les études pourront être plus poussées, sur un matériel plus vaste.

L'examen des ossements entreposés au Musée Greco-Romain d'Alexandrie, examen poursuivi en 1963, ont permis d'isoler 113 personnes (54 hommes, 33 femmes, 22 enfants et 4 personnes indéterminées). Ces ossements

ne proviennent pas tous du sondage A, où les profondeurs auxquelles les tombes se trouvaient ont été minutieusement mesurées permettant la différenciation des deux nécropoles. Les ossements du sondage C (désormais réunie au sondage A en un seul) proviennent de tombes dont la situation n'a pas été précisée. Nous n'en parlerons donc pas ici, nous limitant à affirmer que toutes les sépultures étant collectives elles semblent se rattacher à la Nécropole Supérieure. Nous ne parlerons pas non plus du matériel examiné cette année in situ, parce que les sondages F et G ne sont pas encore terminés. L'analyse individuelle du matériel osseux tout entier, ainsi que les détails de l'examen anthropologicomédical, seront publiés séparément.

TADEUSZ DZIERZYKRAY-ROGALSKI

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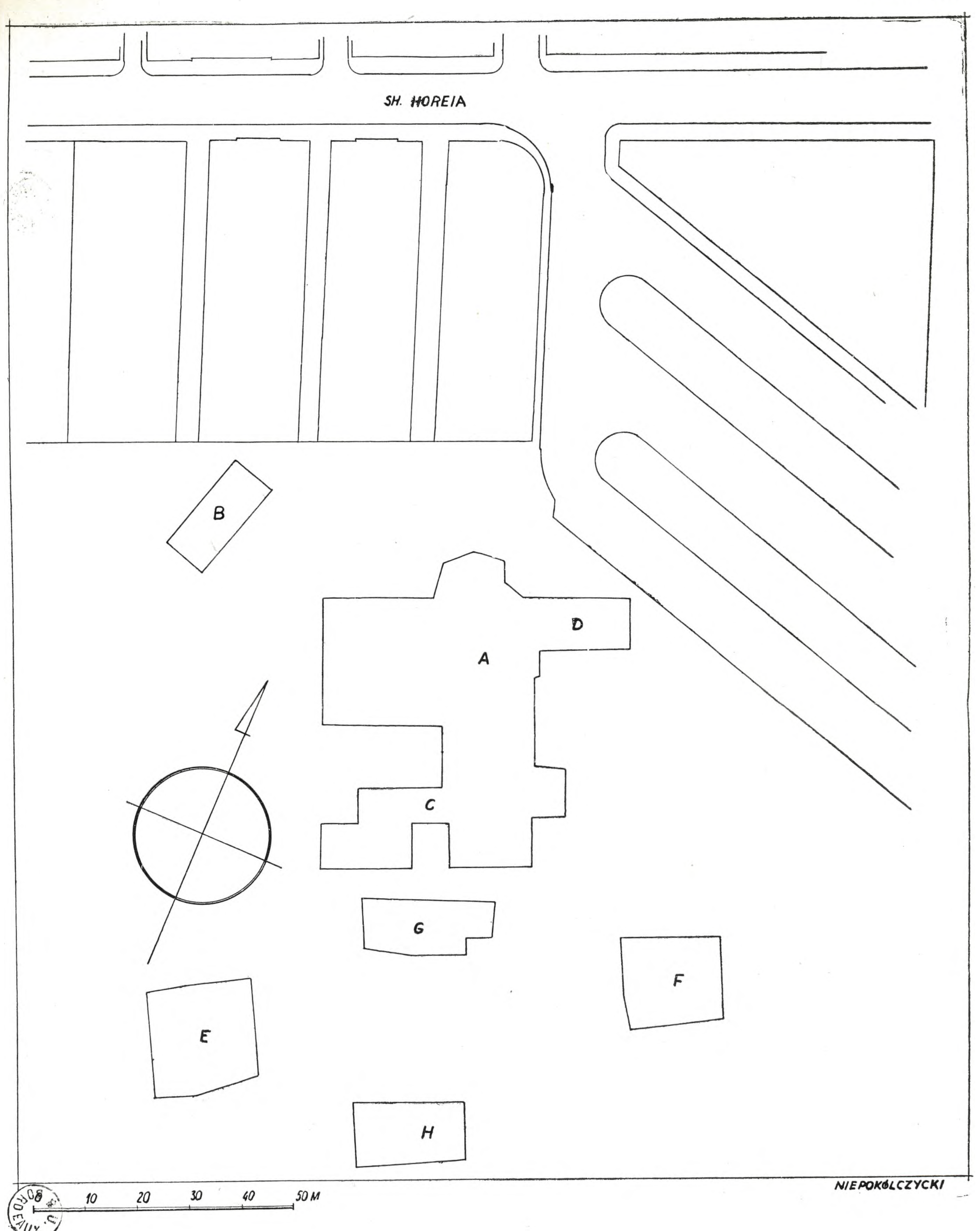
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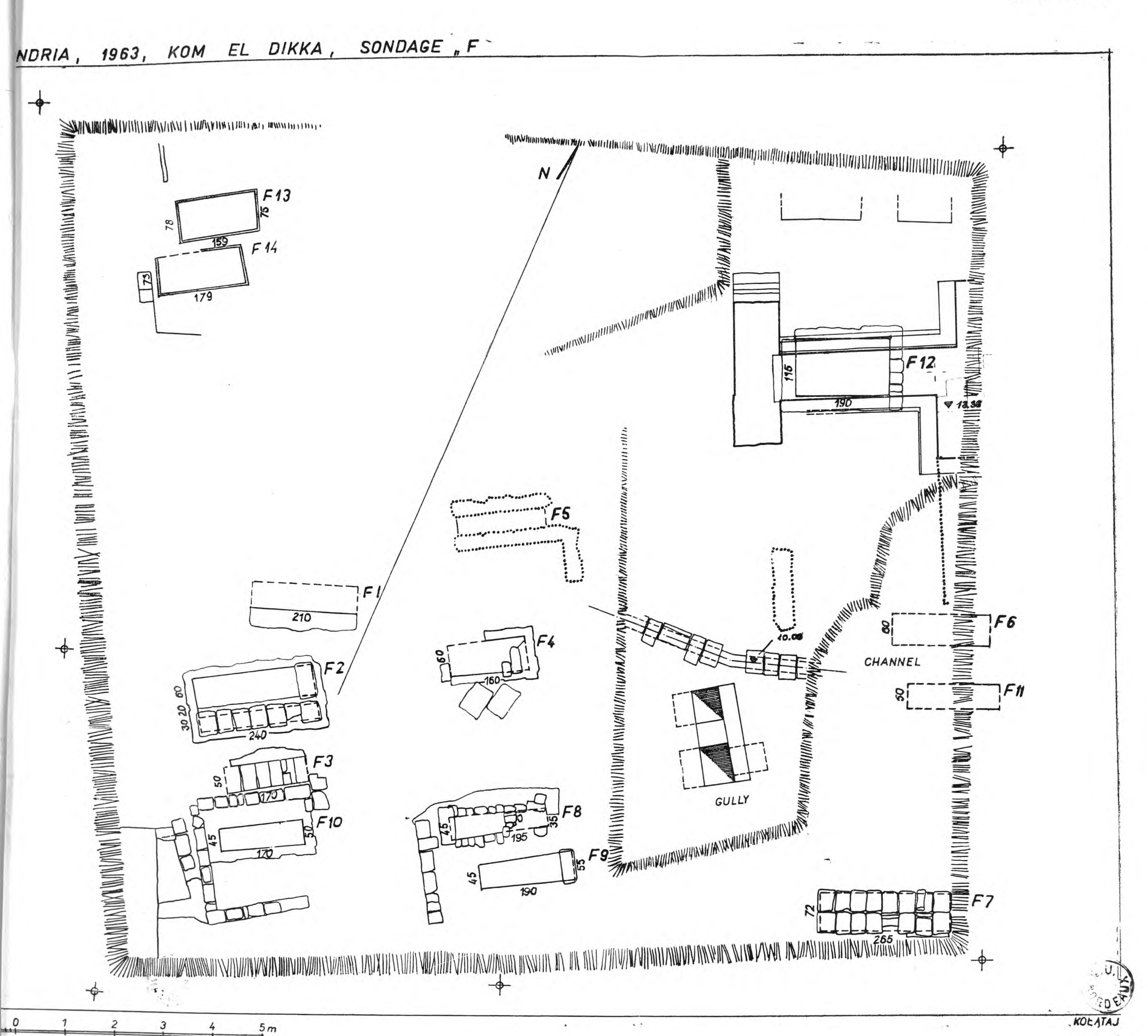
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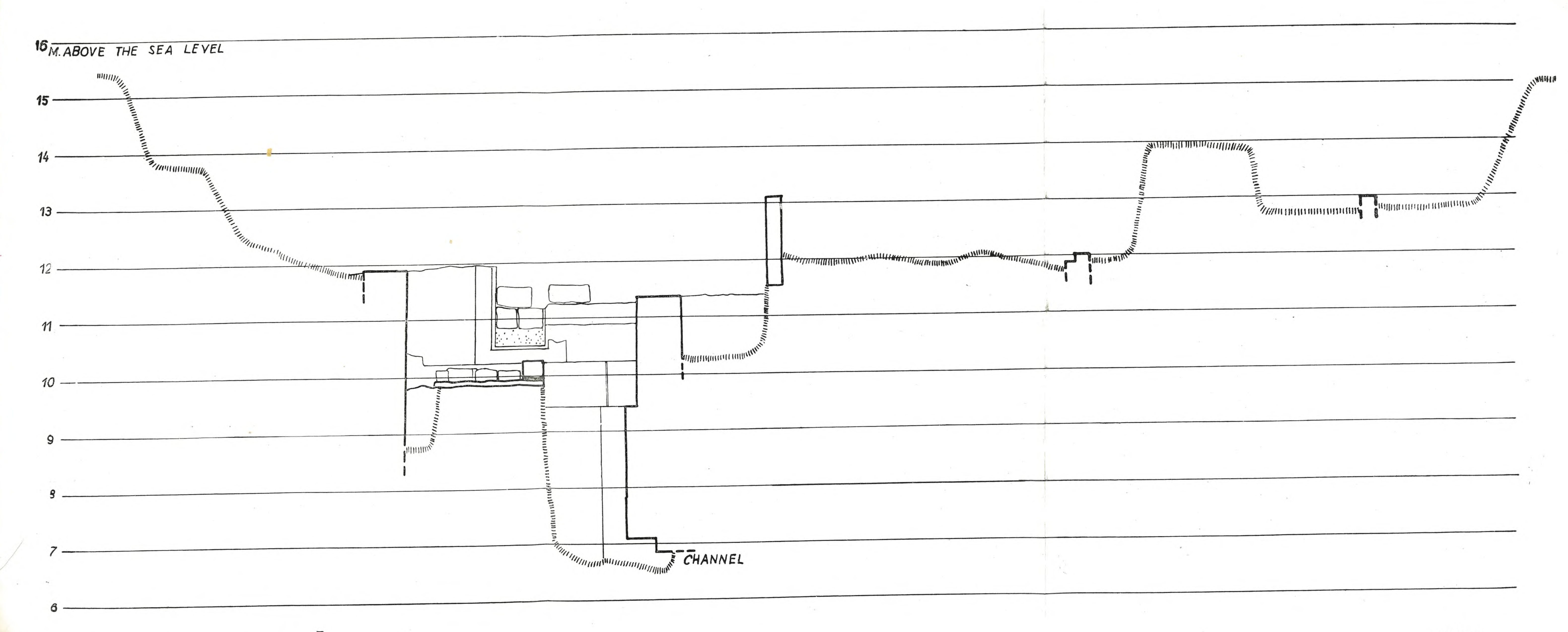


North-East part of Kom el-Dikha


NDRIA, 1963, KOM EL DIKKA, SONDAGE „F"
N
F13
78
75
159
F14
73
179
F12
115
190
▼ 13.38
F5
F1
210
F2
60
20
30
240
F4
60
160
10.08
CHANNEL
F6
80
F11
50
GULLY
F3
50
170
F10
45
50
170
F8
45
35
195
F9
45
55
190
F7
72
265
0
1
2
3
4
5 m
KOŁĄTAJ

ALEXANDRIA, 1963, KOM EL DIKKA, SONDAGE „G"

ALEXANDRIA, 1963, KOM EL DIKKA, SONDAGE „G"



ALEXANDRIA, 1963, KOM EL DIKKA, SONDAGE „H

TABLE DES MATIÈRFS

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